ONE HUNDRED YEARS :: :: OF MORMONISM

To

Lillie M Fairbanks

From

Mary F Brown

To

Alice F Simmons

25 Dec 1934

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By
JOHN HENRY EVANS

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ENDORSEMENT

Salt Lake City, October 27, 1905.

President Joseph F. Smith and Counselors,
President's Office, City.

Dear Brethren:—We, your brethren, appointed as a special committee to examine the work written by Elder John Henry Evans of the Latter-day Saints' University entitled "One Hundred Years of Mormonism," respectfully report that we have carefully read and considered the whole of said work and find the facts therein to be true and correct as far as our knowledge extends.

In style, the writing is plain, direct and simple, without any marked effort at literary embellishment, and well adapted, in our opinion, for a text-book in Church History that can advantageously be used in our Sunday Schools and other Church institutions of learning. We believe that it will materially help our youth in their study of the great latter-day work by making clear a number of points that former histories written for the young people of the Church, have left somewhat ambiguous.

Most respectfully, we remain,

Your brethren,

Francis M. Lyman,
George Reynolds,
Joseph F. Smith, Jr.

perfections still remaining, I avail myself of this opportunity to thank them thus publicly for the valuable suggestions which they have offered and which I have accepted. To other friends, also, who shall here be nameless, I am grateful for encouraging words and assistance during the progress of my undertaking, without which *One Hundred Years of Mormonism* would probably not have appeared.

J. H. E.

Salt Lake City, October, 1905.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

In this second edition I have eliminated the introduction to the work and added an index. Almost the only other changes are verbal. To the preface to the first edition of five thousand I have nothing to add, except a statement of these changes and of my gratitude to the public for the kindly reception my work has been given.

J. H. E.

Salt Lake City, March 2, 1909.

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One Hundred Years of Mormonism

PART FIRST

Opening of the New Dispensation

CHAPTER I

LIGHT FROM HEAVEN

"Mormonism" very properly dates its beginning from an event—the most important in its history—that occurred in the western part of New York State, in the year 1820. But before passing to a description of this opening scene, it will be proper to call attention to a few points in the general condition of the country at the time, in the state of society and religion that prevailed in the particular region where this event happened, and in the antecedents and boyhood of the principal actor, Joseph Smith.

The Country in General.

Our nation was then in its infancy, for not more than thirty-one years had elapsed since the adoption of the Constitution. Speaking in general of the period from 1789 to 1815—and but slight modification need be made for the succeeding five years—Fiske terms it a third-rate power, and observes further that "in population and wealth it was decidedly inferior to the Belgium of our day, and about on a level with Denmark or Portugal." The inhabited part of the country, over which were scattered nearly nine millions of people, formed almost a perfect triangle with the base lying along the Atlantic seaboard and the vertex in central Missouri. Twenty-two States made up the Union, Maine hav-

ing been the last admitted. And beyond these to the west extended the monster plains and mountains, sleeping in silence, which the most sanguine of those days never dreamed of as worthy of being waked into grain-fields and pasture-land. The vast quiet of these western parts, now echoing confusedly to the din of populous towns and cities, had not been disturbed except by the dismal howl of the wolf, the war-cry of the painted savage, or the occasional crack of the rifle in the hands of the solitary trapper. The eastern portion of the country had been for some time free from the danger of Indian attacks, but tales of massacres by the fierce and stealthy red man continued to come from the borderland of civilization.

In other respects, too, our country presented to those who lived during the first few years of the nineteenth century a different aspect from that which we look upon who see the dawn of the twentieth. Philadelphia, the largest city, contained fewer than fifty thousand inhabitants, and New York, Boston, and Baltimore followed with even a smaller population. Of these four cities the first two were the trading centers. The locomotive was scarcely more than an idea in the brain of the great English inventor; Fulton had only within recent years performed the incredible feat of launching the first steamboat on the waters of the Hudson; and it was to be many years before time and space were to be annihilated by the electric telegraph. Hence travel was slow and difficult, being accomplished mainly on horseback and by stage-coach, the rude wagon of the period not having come into general use. "It took a week," says Fiske, "to go from Boston to New York in a stage-coach, and all large rivers, such as the Connecticut, had to be crossed in boats, as none of them had bridges." Hence, too, there prevailed in each part of the country a general ignorance as to what was going on in every other part. No national sentiment, like that

which unifies the nation today, bound together the different States into a compact whole. People moved about very little, except when they sought new homes in the West. Travel to foreign countries was rare; during the earlier years of the century, a stranger's presence was always remarked upon in the streets of Philadelphia, and a man who had been to Europe was the object of universal envy and curiosity. Balls were given only in the larger centres of population; very little attention was paid to music, the harpischord being the favorite, if not almost the only muscial instrument commonly in use. Theatres were rare and almost universally disapproved as a source of public amusement. Imprisonment for debt had only recently been abolished by law. By far the larger number of those marvelous inventions that have done so much to bring the ends of the earth together and to raise the masses to a higher plane of living, were yet a long way in the future. In our day everybody reads, if it is only a newspaper or a poster; in that early period, few books, none by American authors, found their way to the book-shelf of even the "best families," and the day of the newspaper and the magazine was but just beginning to dawn.

If we glance at a list of the public characters in 1820 and thereabouts, we shall find a good many names that are familiar to the lips of every American schoolboy of our day. The august figure of Washington had indeed disappeared some twenty years since, but there remained others who had performed a lasting benefit to the New Republic in the recent struggle for national existence. Some of the men who had signed the Declaration of Independence and framed the Constitution, might still be seen on the streets. Jefferson and John Adams had yet six years before them; the death of Chief Justice Jay was not to occur till 1829; Andrew Jackson had already won those dashing successes which, nine years later, obtained for him the presidential chair;

Madison, the famous reporter of the great convention, was in his sixty-fifth year, with sixteen years to look forward to. The national legislature was at this time convulsed by discussions on slavery, which brought into prominence the celebrated trio, Webster, Clay, and Calhoun, and produced in this very year the famous Missouri Compromise. Washington Irving, "the first ambassador of letters from the New World to the Old," had just made a name in England by the publication of his inimitable *Sketch Book*.

Across the waters were some more notables. George the Fourth occupied the throne of England. The great victor of Waterloo was the most conspicuous figure in the English army and politics; and Napoleon, who but recently had held at bay the combined forces of Europe, was eking out his last days on the lonely island of St. Helena. Keats had just published his "Endymion," Shelley his "Skylark," and "The Cloud;" Byron had become the lion of England by the publication of those exquisite Grecian lyrics that so signally eclipsed the author of "Marmion" and the "Lady of the Lake;" Scott, striking out in another and original field, had just written one of the greatest historical romances in the language; and Wordsworth and Coleridge were yet in the flush of their literary careers.

One other fact in the record of the period deserves special mention. The administration of Monroe, which includes the year 1820, is characterized by historians as the *Era of Good-feeling*. The nation was just lifting its head after the depression and hard times of the preceding few years. And now for the only time in the history of our country, not only before this year, but since, the sky was altogether clear of political clouds. In the election of 1820—the very year we are now considering—there was only one presidential candidate before the public, James Monroe; and he was permitted to take his seat for a second term with

only one vote against him, and that merely because of a romantic notion entertained by one of the electors that Washington should not be deprived of the honor of having been the only president chosen without a dissenting voice in the electoral college. It should be noted further that a new direction was given at this time to public affairs; for primary questions from now on were to grow out of a universal desire for internal improvement, instead of war as in the past.

Western New York State.

The western part of the great Empire State was then in every essential particular a pioneer district. Within the decade lying between 1810 and 1820, immigration had brought into existence three hundred new towns and sixty new villages, requiring the organization of eight new counties. This part of the country, thinly inhabited as compared with parts lying eastward, was then covered by a heavy growth of timber, which the farmers were busily engaged in removing as they had need of the land. The people, though possessed of the characteristic shrewdness and energy of Yankee pioneers, were mostly illiterate; being, in fact, such a class as even in our day have been seen to push into new districts. Their mode of life was proportionately simple. Most of the houses were small and rudely constructed, having been hurriedly put together of unhewn logs but lately standing in the forest. The homely meal was cooked over the old-fashioned fireplace, and eaten from wooden or pewter dishes. The excessive cost of transporting merchandise from one part of the country to another made it necessary for the westerners of this period to content themselves with few articles of luxury. Educational facilities, as might be imagined, were meagre. There stood, of course, the rude log schoolhouse "sunning like a beggar," by the country roadside, with little else for furnishing than a few split logs, which, set on wood-

en pegs, served for desks and benches. The "master," not infrequently a man of small learning, taught on a starving pittance, boarding and lodging with each patron of the school according to the number of children in the home. The family library consisted usually of the Bible, *Pilgrim's Progress,* Rollin's *Ancient History,* and the well-thumbed speller and reader. News from the rest of the world was confined mostly to what could be learned from the weekly or even the monthly newspaper, which, owing to the irregularity of the mail service, had not unlikely been several weeks on the way. In short, the life of the ordinary western New Yorker of those days must have been essentially the same as that which we might see today in some of our western districts far removed from the railway and with the conveniences resulting from modern inventions subtracted.

Religion played a more important part in the daily life of Americans during the first quarter of the nineteenth century than it does today. And this was true in a special sense of the western part of New York at this time. Everybody went to church and read the Bible. Infidelity was looked upon with grave suspicion, not only that attitude of mind which openly mocks at all religion, but that also which finds more pleasure on the Sabbath day in sport or idleness than in going to church. Religious disputes were common, though questions of mere dogma drew more attention than the fundamental doctrines of salvation or than any matter of great moral significance. There were, in addition, many people who believed that the same spiritual gifts and manifestations of divine power and wisdom, such as, according to the New Testament, characterized the ancient Church, should be received in our day; but this idea was by no means peculiar to this locality. Revivals, when there occurred a lapse in spirituality, were prolonged and

enthusiastic. Historians of the period have given us graphic pictures of how the people deserted their farms in the busiest season of the year for whole days together and traveled many miles in order to attend a revival meeting. The atmosphere of this particular region was therefore highly saturated with religion.

During the winter of 1819 this religious spirit broke out, in the neighborhood of Manchester, Wayne county, into a revival of unusual proportions. All the churches in that part of the country joined in the work of conversion, it being the understanding that, in the end, the converts might embrace the sect of their choice. This revival extended into the spring of the following year. It began, we are told, with the Methodists, but spread from them to other churches and from the town of Manchester to adjacent towns, till the whole country for miles around presented a scene of the wildest excitement and confusion. And this work was continued till everyone that had not "experienced religion" had been either converted, or had shown himself to be beyond hope. At the time when the excitement ran highest and all denominations were striving for one common object —namely, the securing of the necessary change of heart in the sinner—good enough feelings prevailed among the members of the various churches. But when the time came for the converted to decide what sect they should join, all this peace and harmony strangely disappeared. Each party being anxious to increase its own following, there was a rivalry of claims, which, pressed as they were with bitterness, tended to confuse the minds of sincere converts. Some cried, "Lo, here is Christ!" and others, "Lo there!" until the wisest might well be puzzled to know where the truth lay. Each sect, moreover, extolled its own virtues and decried the virtues of every other. So that what good the revivals might have accomplished in the way of turning men

from their sins and directing their footsteps in the narrow path, was unhappily transformed into positive harm in the strife that followed; for it was impossible but that such conduct on the part of the clergy and religious partisans generally, would give rise to fresh doubts in the minds of those who earnestly sought the truth, as to the precise amount of divinity there was to be found in any of the prevailing religious creeds.

The Smiths and the Macks.

At this time there lived at Manchester a family whose name was destined to be pronounced for good or evil wherever the word "Mormonism" might penetrate. This was the Smith family. It consisted, at the time, of the parents, Joseph and Lucy, and eight children, whose names were: Alvin, Hyrum, Sophronia, Joseph, Samuel, William, Catherine, and Don Carlos. According to all accounts, they were poor, though their poverty was not that abject sort which marks the lazy and shiftless but only that kind which characterizes all pioneers of a new country. The father and the older boys worked on their newly-purchased farm, clearing and otherwise preparing it for cultivation, while the mother helped to furnish provisions and replenish the small stock of household furniture by painting oilcloth coverings for tables, stands, and similar articles. They were therefore a hard-working and economical family.

They had not, however, always lived at Manchester, nor had they always been thus poor. Theirs had been a life full of strange vicissitudes, which they had been unable to comprehend while passing through them, but the value and meaning of which they came to see clearly enough in the light which subsequent events reflected upon the earlier part of their lives. Tunbridge, Orange county, Vermont, had

been their first home. Here it was that Joseph had met and, in January, 1796, married Lucy Mack.

The Smiths and the Macks had for several generations been counted among the most thrifty and respected farmers of New England. Their genealogy stretched back into the days of early immigration to America, and both families had furnished to the Colonial and Revolutionary Wars brave and earnest soldiers whose blood, mingling with that of their compatriots, fertilized the soil whereon was to spring up the tree of liberty and equal rights. The early home of the Smith family was in Massachusetts; that of the Macks, in Connecticut, from which States both families had been driven by reverses in fortune.

Lucy's grandparents had been well-to-do while living in their native State, and her father had received, therefore, a tolerable education. It appears from his biography, composed towards the end of an active life, that Solomon Mack was a man of energy and character, with a faculty for narrating his military exploits in a manly and entertaining style. He served with credit in the Colonial Wars and also in the war with England. At the age of twenty-five or six he married Lydia Gates, a school-mistress, the daughter of a well-to-do family. To this couple were born eight children, including Lucy, several of whom became men and women of more than usual ability. Stephen, a man of no common energy, business acumen, intelligence, and patriotism, won honors in the Revolutionary War. Subsequently he settled in Michigan, where he became one of the founders of Detroit, and where he afterwards owned and operated large and successful mercantile establishments, and held political positions. It is related that while residing at Tunbridge he and his partner in business gave Lucy one thousand dollars as a marriage present. Lydia married into a family of wealth and intelligence. Jason was a zealous preacher and missionary

all his life. Lucy, herself, born at Gilsum, Cheshire county, New Hampshire, just four days after the Declaration of Independence, was a woman of character and piety. At several stages of her married life while her husband was away from home, we find her exhibiting a talent for managing affairs that indicates a good deal of natural tact and wisdom.

Of the Smith family, not so much is known. They were of English descent, the earliest American progenitor, Robert Smith, having come from England before the middle of the seventeenth century. It appears that they, too, were farmers, respected by their neighbors and measurably prosperous in this world's affairs, and that several of their number rendered voluntary and honorable service to their country in the Colonial Wars and in the struggle for national independence. A letter written by Asael Smith, grandfather of the Prophet, to a friend in Massachusetts, in 1796, reveals no small amount of intelligence, prosperity, independence of character, and a faith that God would over-rule events for the best good of the new government. Inter-marrying with some of the best families of New England—and we make the statement on the strength of the names which appear on the female side of the house—they were thus desirable citizens of the growing nation. The strength of both the Smiths and the Macks, therefore, lies in their having belonged to the energetic and successful tillers of the soil, to that class of people which constitutes the backbone of the American nation, and of any nation.

Moreover, the records of both families proclaim them to have had a strong and well-defined religious character. They believed firmly and positively in God and in the Bible, and endeavored to make their lives conform to the teachings of the Holy Scriptures. It is a point worthy of notice here that in both families there were men and women who were considered heterodox in some respects by their contempor-

aries. Their faith was not, therefore, of that unreasoning kind which accepts unquestioningly every religious tenet merely because it happens to find a place in some particular creed. Instances are recorded of the simple faith and devotion on the part of the younger Joseph's ancestors, on both sides of the family, that are touching and beautiful. Jason Mack, as we have already stated, was a preacher and missionary, though unorthodox in some respects; he believed "that by prayer and faith the gifts of the gospel, which were enjoyed by the ancient disciples of Christ, might be obtained by the followers of Jesus in modern days." A very pathetic description has been left us of the piety of the sisters Lovisa and Lovina Mack under the shadow of an early death; and fragments of verse remaining attest the poetic, as well as the religious, inclination of the latter. In one instance, there appears to have been a distinct promonition on the part of a member of the Smith family—Asael, the father of the elder Joseph—concerning the work which the Lord was about to establish. "It has been borne in upon my soul," he is known to have remarked, "that one of my descendants will promulgate a work to revolutionize the world of religious faith." This premonition he lived long enough to see partly realized, for shortly before his death, he was presented with a copy of the Book of Mormon, which he accepted as a divine revelation, "and with the light of inspiration which sometimes illumines the mind of man as the veil of eternity opens to his gaze, Asael solemnly warned his attendants to give heed to the book, for it was true, and its coming forth heralded a renewal of gospel light."

At Tunbridge where, as already noted, Lucy had met Joseph while she was on a visit to her brother Stephen, the couple were married, settling in easy circumstances on their own farm. But they were not long to remain so. After six years Joseph rented his farm and engaged in the business of

store-keeping. Investing beyond his means in crystalized ginseng, which at the time commanded a high price in China, he sent a quantity of this article across the waters. Had no ill-fortune intervened, he would have realized several times the amount of his investment; but as it was, a "friend" and "neighbor" cunningly cheated him out of both the profits and the original sum, leaving him in consequence involved in debt. To pay the obligations held against him on this and other accounts, he sold his farm at much less than its real value; and the money thus obtained, together with Lucy's marriage gift of one thousand dollars, which she had carefully treasured, served to liquidate all their indebtedness. But they were left penniless, though with a name and conscience of which they had no reason to be ashamed. During the next few years they moved about considerably, along the borderline separating New Hampshire and Vermont. Among the towns where they resided in these unsettled years were Royalton, Randolph, Sharon, Tunbridge (their former home), Lebanon, and Norwich. Continuous industry and economical living would have measurably brought back their former prosperity but sickness in their growing family proved too heavy a drain on their meagre resources. Failure of crops for three successive years in the neighborhood of Norwich, their last home in New England, drove them ultimately from that place to western New York State, which, as we have seen, was then a pioneer district. They first settled at Palmyra, Wayne (then Ontario) county where, with characteristic hope and industry, the father, assisted by his sons, began the arduous task of clearing more than a hundred acres of land. This farm they had purchased and were paying for in installments but in consequence of their inability to make the final payment, and also because of a technical question concerning the title, they lost everything, and were compelled to make a new home.

Hence, after having lived at Palmyra for two years, the family moved to Manchester, where, it seems, they were prospered more than at any time since their misfortune at Tunbridge. This removal occurred some time in the year 1817.

Such in brief, is the history of Joseph Smith's antecedents. But anti-"Mormon" writers have labored most assiduously to wrest from these simple facts a testimony of low birth, ignorance, and indolence. The pious nature of these deserving people has been stigmatized as religious eccentricity and credulity; the frequent removals of the Smith family as vagabondage; their unfortunate reverses in a material way and their unpretentious efforts to regain their prosperity, as soul-bankruptcy and mere shiftless incapacity. And one would be led to think the whole race of Smiths and Macks entirely destitute of a single virtue. Two things, however, the reader must bear in mind as he peruses this gloomy catalogue of short-comings: first, that it was compiled by those who not only took no pains to hide their animus, but openly avowed themselves enemies of the "Mormon" people and their creed; and, second, that it was conceived at a time when these enemies felt it imperatively necessary, as an effective weapon against the Church, that the originators of the new religion should have borne a bad name among their neighbors. For confirmation of the first of these statements we have only to look into any of the numerous and bulky volumes by anti-"Mormons." It will then be perfectly clear that these charges against the character of the Smith family, were conceived in bitterness and disappointed hate. And if any proof of the other statement be asked for, it would be necessary only to make a list of the points of evidence soberly put down in what purports to be authenticated and unbiased histories of the Latter-day Saints by outsiders. In nearly every instance the testimonies (usu-

ally sworn affidavits given with incredible willingness) against the character of Joseph Smith and the members of the family are distortions of otherwise innocent facts, the repetition of pure hearsay, often by a great many removes, or the expressions of persons enfeebled by age, struggling, at the pressing invitation of the "careful and unbiased historian," to recall some "facts" about their early connection with the Smiths, which, if these people had really ever known would long since have slipped away from their remembrance. In the last case the flattering and conciliating manner of the "inquirer," but more especially his helpful leading questions, brings back a ready memory, that doles out with surprising volubility rose-colored stories about the Smiths, which are themselves the strongest evidence at once of the corrupted understanding of those who gave them out in the first instance and of the total lack of conscience on the part of those who repeat them in works laying the least claim to being historical.

We have therefore been thus particular in reviewing the history of these two families partly because of these attempts to cast odium upon honorable names, partly because we wish to show what strange, yet simple and withal natural, means the Lord employs to accomplish his purposes respecting man. We may see from this brief narrative of their checkered lives that God was using these circumstances for the purpose of training the Smith family for the labor he was about to require of them, and also of bringing them near the scene of the younger Joseph's future activity.

Early Years of the Prophet Joseph.

It is not, however, with the Smith family, as such, that we are primarily concerned, but rather with one of its members. Joseph Smith, Jr., the fourth child was at this time [1820] only a little more than fourteen years of age. He had been

born on the 23rd of December, 1805, while the family was living at Sharon, Windsor county, Vermont. Concerning his life before this fourteenth year but little is known. It is related that when about seven years old he was afflicted with a fever sore on his leg, which nearly caused him to lose that member, but through an operation, in which, however, it was necessary to remove several pieces of bone, the leg was fortunately saved. He worked like the other boys of the family in assisting the father to make a home at Palmyra and at Manchester; so that he had been inured to daily toil from the beginning, and early made to know the significance of hardship and privation. During the winter months he attended the village school, where he learned to read, to write, and to do simple sums in arithmetic. Of the other branches taught even then at the best country schools it was not his privilege to learn at the time. At home he was taught by precept and example the value of faith in God and devotion to duty in his dealings with his fellow men. The early age of fourteen brought Joseph a studious habit and thoughtfulness beyond his years; and in consequence he was highly respected among the neighbors.

The Smith family, being, as we have shown, of a religious turn of mind, naturally took a deep interest in the revival which occurred in the vicinity of Manchester and which we have already described. Four members, including the mother, joined the Presbyterian faith. Joseph, like the rest of the family, was profoundly affected by the excitement over religion, but, unlike them, was in doubt as to which of the churches was the true one. At first he was somewhat partial to the Methodists. Young as he was, he saw clearly that not all the sects, separately or collectively, could be the true Church of Christ, though he does not appear to have had any doubts that some one of them possessed the truth. He pondered over the question without apparently

being able to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion, till an event occurred which dispelled forever all shadow of doubt from his mind and planted there instead a firm knowledge respecting God and the Church of Christ.

A Glorious Revelation of God.

During his severest moments of uncertainty, Joseph had frequent recourse to the Scriptures, hoping to find therein something that would set his mind at rest concerning this perplexing subject of religion. And he was not to be disappointed. For one day while reading in the Epistle of James he came upon the words: "If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally and upbraideth not; and it shall be given him." These words burned themselves into his soul. It was like a sudden flash from heaven in the midst of impenetrable darkness. He had been wandering in the blackness of night, but now he was able to pick out his way with ease. It was a supreme crisis in the boy's life, a parting of the ways. He was startled by the fitness of the words to his case. It was as if the ancient apostle had written them with Joseph expressly in mind. He lacked wisdom; for which of all the conflicting churches to join he did not know. But here was the finger of God pointing the way; here was a pledge from the Almighty that he would obtain wisdom merely for the asking. Doubtless he hesitated. Who, indeed, would not have done so? Had not these disputes over religion been going on for hundreds of years, and had not these very words, too, been read time and again by countless millions whose doubts respecting the truth of the sects had been as great as his own? And yet, it seemed, no one, not even the preachers, had tested the divine promise in this passage. Or had they read them without believing? At all events, he did not disbelieve; he had no questionings in his soul respecting

the amount of dependence to be placed upon the word of God. And here, we may add parenthetically, is the most positive evidence of the purity and faith-producing character of his home atmosphere. The more he thought upon the passage and on his own condition of spiritual uncertainty, the more he was impressed that he ought to seek the Lord in prayer.

Accordingly, one bright morning in the spring of 1820, he retired to a grove near his father's house. Upon reaching a secluded spot, he looked around him to make sure that he was alone. No doubt he felt deeply the awfulness of the situation. The deep-breathing stillness of the woods and the loneliness only added to the solemnity of the hour. Silently the boy knelt upon the ground and began to pray aloud. Suddenly, he was seized by an unseen power which entirely overcame him—not an imaginary influence, but an actual being from the invisible world of evil. Thick darkness enveloped him. His tongue was bound so that he could not utter a word. In an agony of helpless terror he cried in his soul for God to free him from the grasp of this frightful power. At the moment of his greatest despair he beheld above him, through the darkness, a pillar of light, which increased as it approached till the place was brilliantly illuminated, and the tops of the trees looked as if they would be consumed. The next instant, the enemy of his soul departed. "When the light rested upon me," he says, "I saw two personages, whose brightness defy all description, standing above me in the air. One of them spake unto me, calling me by name, and said, pointing to the other: 'This is My Beloved Son, hear Him.'"

Joseph's object in going to the grove to pray was that he might inquire of the Lord concerning the right church. As soon, therefore, as he had regained self-possession enough to speak, he asked these holy Personages the momentous ques-

tion. The answer was: "You must joint none of them! They are all wrong. Their creeds are an abomination in my sight. The professors thereof are all corrupt. They draw near me with their lips, but their hearts are far from me. They teach for doctrine the commandments of men. Having a form of godliness, they deny the power thereof." Again he was forbidden to connect himself with any of them. "Many other things" were said to him at this time, but we are not informed, neither here nor elsewhere, as to what they were. Doubtless, he was told that in due time, the true Church should be established on the earth and that if faithful he should be instrumental in accomplishing the restoration.

Such are all the details concerning what will some day be generally regarded as the most important event in the history of the world, excepting alone the revelation of Godhood in the person of our Lord Jesus Christ. It is preeminently *the* event since the opening of the dispensation in the meridian of time. And like the coming of our Savior to live in the flesh—a circumstance so humble and obscure as not to attract the notice of the great—this sublime vision of modern days will acquire significance with the silent lapse of time; while the comparatively petty incidents of the world's life, such as the overthrow of a tyrant king, the founding of a nation, or the discovery of an important principle, will imperceptibly but none the less surely drop to their proper level, leaving this magnificent revelation towering above these merely local events resplendent with an ever-increasing halo of glory.

After the Vision.

Naturally enough, Joseph felt as if he ought to communicate these facts to others that they, too, might rejoice; for it

did not occur to his unsophisticated mind that any religious person would question his experience, much less deny the need for such a revelation, and least of all that any ill-will should be borne him for what he had seen. His own family were the first to whom he related the vision. With them, of course, he found belief and sympathy. Afterwards, when an opportunity presented itself, he told the circumstance to a Methodist minister, who had probably manifested an interest in the conversion of the boy, and from whom no doubt he confidently expected belief and good will. But the pious man treated his communication "not only lightly, but with great contempt, saying that it was all of the devil, that there were no such things as visions or revelations in these days, that all such things had ceased with the apostles, and that there never would be any more of them." To others also he must have related the vision; for he says, "I found my telling the story had excited a great deal of prejudice against me among professors of religion, and was the cause of great persecution, which continued to increase."

This Methodist minister's attitude towards him was the attitude of people generally in his neighborhood. He very likely had imagined that he would be doing an inestimable service to his fellow men by telling them how his own doubts had been resolved as an example of how they might resolve theirs. But his neighbors did not look at the matter in the same light. Only his family believed him. Everyone else reviled and persecuted. What this persecution consisted of he does not inform us; doubtless it was jeering and vilification, the social and religious ostracism of himself and his father's family. The preachers, who had so recently been at cross purposes with one another over their individual share of the converts, now so far forgot their bickerings as to unite in holding up to public ridicule a boy scarcely fif-

teen years of age whose circumstances in life were such as to make him of no consequence in the world.

"It caused me serious reflection then," says the Prophet, in speaking of this time, "and often has since, how very strange it was that an obscure boy, of a little over fourteen years of age, and one, too, who was doomed to the necessity of obtaining a scanty maintenance by his daily labor, should be thought a character of sufficient importance to attract the attention of the great ones of the most popular sects of the day, and in a manner to create in them a spirit of the most bitter persecution and reviling. But strange or not, so it was, and it was often the cause of great sorrow to myself. However, it was nevertheless a fact that I had beheld a vision. I have thought since, that I felt much like Paul, when he made his defense before King Agrippa, and related the account of the vision he had when he saw a light, and heard a voice; but still there were few who believed him; some said he was dishonest, others said he was mad; and he was ridiculed and reviled. But all this did not destroy the reality of his vision. He had seen a vision, he knew he had, and all the persecution under heaven could not make it otherwise; and though they should persecute him unto death, yet he knew, and would to his latest breath, that he had both seen a light and heard a voice speaking unto him, and all the world could not make him think and believe otherwise. So it was with me. I had actually seen a light, and in the midst of that light I saw two personages, and they did in reality speak to me; and though I was hated and persecuted for saying that I had seen a vision, yet it was true; and while they were persecuting me, reviling me, and speaking all manner of evil against me, falsely, for so saying, I was led to say in my heart, Why persecute for telling the truth? I have actually seen a vision, and who am I that I can withstand God, or why does the world think to make me deny

what I have actually seen? For I had seen a vision; I knew it, and I knew that God knew it, and I could not deny it, neither dared I; at least I knew that by so doing I would offend God, and come under his condemnation."

Significance of this Revelation.

This first vision of the Prophet's constitutes the groundwork of the religious movement inaugurated by him. With it "Mormonism" falls or stands, according as this vision is false or true. If this be a figment of Joseph Smith's imagination, then our religion is what its detractors have always declared it to be—a soul-destroying imposture. But if, on the other hand—though our opponents seem not to have considered closely enough this other alternative—this revelation is a reality, "Mormonism" alone of all the religious organizations of the world is the true Church of Christ. It is a tremendous conclusion, but there is no other that can be drawn; there is no middle ground. Here then is the main reason why "Mormonism" presents to the world such an uncompromising front, why it cannot affiliate with other sects and parties on common ground, and why, in part, it is fought with such unmitigated bitterness. But this vision, moreover, is luminous as are few external facts in our annals. It lays bare a group of ideas the bigness of which cannot easily be overestimated, and opens a prospect for others, larger still, which the human understanding struggles in vain to encompass. All the great fundamentals of our faith are here —those basic principles of progressive religion for which "Mormonism" stands and which distinguish it from every other religious creed. It is not my purpose, however, to establish the grounds of belief in this great revelation. That is not needed. The beautiful and perfect superstructure subsequently reared, proves conclusively the substantial character of this its foundation. It is the intention, in this section,

only to bring into relief some of the important facts and principles disclosed by the first vision.

One of the main results of this revelation was to set Joseph's mind at rest concerning religion and to qualify him for his mission of Restorer.

It is related that the young boy, upon recovering his usual self-possession, left the grove and entered the house; and as he was leaning against the mantelpiece, pale and exhausted, his mother, noticing his condition, pressed him for the cause of it. He replied that he was well enough, but added shortly: "I have learned for myself that Presbyterianism is wrong." And indeed he had learned this, from the greatest of all authorities. But he had learned also that all the other churches and religious societies among men were likewise wrong. "Their creeds"—such was the language of the Holy Personage—"are an abomination in my sight." Not that the churches had in them no truth, or that there were no devout people on the earth. There was doubtless some truth in all the churches, and there doubtless were in each of them thousands of sincere worshipers. But their creeds, which they depended upon for salvation were encumbered with numerous rites and ceremonies that found no sanction in the New Testament, in the practices of apostolic days, or in any revelation later than the time of the apostles; and, what was worse, all their sacraments were performed without divine authority, those that were, as well as those that were not, correct in form. Like the Jewish religion at the time of Jesus, modern Christianity, though it was not devoid of some of the forms of the primitive Church, was notwithstanding almost powerless as a means of saving grace. For hundreds of years no man had been called of God, but each of those who had officiated in a religious capacity had "taken the honor unto himself." That was the situation as it

must have appeared to Joseph Smith after this revelation; and it had the effect of settling his mind as to the important question which he went out into the woods to ask.

Joseph had learned, too, a most valuable lesson—the first lesson, in fact, of both theology and religion—which he was to profit by greatly during the few troubled years that were to remain to him in life, and which would be of inestimable value to the religious world generally had they been disposed to avail themselves of it. In the long course of the Christian Church, from the days of the apostles to the present, quarrels and schisms over theological tenets had turned men's minds from the practice of the virtues inculcated by the original faith. Councils of the Church, the writings of the fathers, the decrees of popes, the discussions of universities, and even the inspired words of the New Testament had been vainly resorted to for light upon the subjects in dispute. None, it seemed, had gone to the real source of wisdom—new revelation from God. But Joseph had learned how little dependence was to be placed in men. And so in his simplicity he had appealed to the Lord. Hereafter he would not hesitate where to go for guidance when any question of vital importance was involved. No marvel that, in later years when he had further tested the divine promise in James, he could remark upon the readiness of the Lord to instruct those who diligently sought him in faith.

It may be accounted by some a matter of small moment that Joseph Smith should never have belonged to any of the churches of men. But I do not regard it so. On the contrary, I have always deemed it profoundly significant that this revelation came to him when he was on the point of considering which of them he ought to join. His parents, and his antecedents for generations, though devout people, had

taken little stock in the creeds. They endeavored throughout their lives to surround themselves and their children with such influences as would make for their spiritual advancement. But they held aloof from the churches. Had Joseph, or his ancestors generally, been strongly partisan in a religious way—and the bias would no doubt have been stronger and more narrowing in some sects than in others—the young boy might have been less fit for his capacity as Restorer. There would have been, no doubt, a sub-conscious set of influences at work the effect of which would be to narrow his usefulness and benumb his religious sensibilities. Doubtless he had his short-comings, but these would not have been overcome nor diminished by his early becoming saturated with a false creedism. He was left, therefore, free as possible, so far as influences in this direction were concerned, to accomplish the work to which God had foreordained him. His mind was broader, his heart larger, than either would have been had his life and that of his progenitors been circumscribed by the creeds of men. Hence, I insist, there seems to have been a Providence in Joseph's not having been a member of any of the sects which he was subsequently to pronounce an abomination before the Lord.

But the Prophet of the Last and Greatest of Dispensations required a more direct and personal qualification than merely to know that none of the churches on the earth was true, or to be informed concerning the proper source of religious wisdom.

When, after the ascension of Jesus, it became necessary to fill the vacancy in the quorum of the Twelve created by the apostasy of Judas, it was imperative that a man be chosen who could testify from personal knowledge of the ministrations of Messiah in the flesh and of his resurrection from the dead. The apostle Peter, in his address to those who

had been called together for the election of a new apostle, declared that "of these men which have companied with us all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us beginning with John the Baptist, unto that same day he was taken up from us, must one be ordained to be a witness with us of his resurrection." Subsequently, when another apostle—Saul of Tarsus—was to be chosen, and it happened that the person on whom this great honor and responsibility were to rest had not the benefit of a personal association with the Lord in the flesh, a special revelation of the risen Jesus was granted him. Now, why were only such men chosen for the apostleship as knew beyond a doubt that Jesus had risen from the dead? Obviously, because this was the one thing always in question, among Jews and Gentiles alike, whenever the apostles taught the gospel. All else in the new religion revolved around this point and derived its meaning from it. If this could be proved, men would yield their belief. And so God provided the world with men who could testify from personal knowledge: "Him whom ye delivered up to death, God hath raised from the dead; *whereof we are witnesses!*"

And does any one suppose that this Special Restorer of the gospel in our age would require a less definite and positive qualification? He was to usher in the Dispensation of the Fulness of Times in which, according to the prophets, God "might gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven and which are on earth." It was, moreover, to be the Dispensation immediately preceding the Thousand Years of Peace and the Personal Reign of Christ on the earth. Then, too, he was to encounter wickedness in high places, unbelief in the Bible, in a personal God, and in a future life, and the scoffs, jeers, and opposition of his fellow men, to an extent that few special witnesses have encountered whom God has sent to earth. Besides, he was to

come to an age the proud boast of which was that it had made greater progress in knowledge and general civilization than the world had made in all previous time; and his contemporaries were to endeavor to overwhelm him and his doctrines by this flood of learning and science. No mere belief, therefore, however strong, in what had been, no mere conviction, however positive, of what ought to be, could be a sufficient qualification for so gigantic and comprehensive a mission. Anything short of a revelation such as Joseph actually received would have been totally inadequate to sustain the weight of unbelief, ridicule, and opposition which the world was to heap upon the head of this youthful Seer. Had his attitude toward the religions of the world been founded alone on a deduction of logic, never so clarified, or upon the interpretation of a Scripture passage, however certain and evident, the antagonism with which his opinions were received by the whole world might well have occasioned a pause in his career that he might question his soul respecting the strength and correctness of his convictions. He would then have been pardoned for stopping to re-examine the grounds on which he had based his conclusions. As it was, however, Joseph had no such questionings —he felt no need of any. He had no premises to examine, for what he taught was not a conclusion obtained by human reasoning. What he did, and all that he had to do, was to state a fact—There is a personal God, for I have seen and spoken with him! If anything in human experience is certain, then this Revelation was to be depended upon.

In addition to this, the very heart of all the falsehood and error that had grown up around theology and religion during the Dark Ages, concerned the personality of God, the nature of the "Trinity," and the necessity for continued revelation in the Church of Christ—the identical points which the vision set forth with such singular clearness. Joseph was to cor-

rect these wrong notions respecting Deity. Is it strange, therefore, in view of all these things, that the great modern Prophet, the Elias, should receive one of the most transcendently glorious and magnificent revelations ever vouchsafed to man—that God the Father and his Son Jesus Christ should appear to him in vision and speak to him face to face as a man talks with his friend?

The effect of this manifestation on the young man's mind was exactly what might naturally have been expected. It made him bold and aggressively independent beyond the comprehension of his fellowmen—precisely the same effect of similar revelations in the first century of the Christian era.

The apostles of Jesus, under the spell of their visions of the risen Lord, went forth with a zeal, an energy, and a fearlessness that appeared to their contemporaries the sheerest madness. Threatenings, humiliations, fire, the sword, the dungeon, and, indeed, all these combined availed nothing with these men so deeply had the waters of their soul been agitated by what they had seen and heard. When dragged before the rulers of the Jews and threatened, on pain of severe punishment by the law of the land if they spoke henceforth to any man in the sacred name of their Master, they answered: "Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye; we ought to obey God rather than man." And in the end of such a career, these apostles, almost to a man, sealed their testimony with their blood. It was precisely so with this modern prophet. Every fiber of his soul thrilled with certainty as to the revelation he had received and his mission in the earth. And with a sublime courage, such as the world rarely witnesses, he stood alone thundering forth his message to mankind in the teeth of their fiercest anger and violence. Nothing could deter him from the accomplishment of his mighty task, neither contumely, violence and imprisonment, nor the fear of

death; and like his prototypes, the Baptist and the ancient apostles, he put the seal of martyrdom upon his testimony.

This bold and independent attitude on the part of Joseph Smith has been mistaken by an unbelieving generation for natural egotism. And it must be admitted that some things in his general conduct appear to give color to such an interpretation of his life. His spirited defiance of the whole religious and learned world; his daring denunciations of tenets made sacred by centuries of devotion and trust; his energetic measures towards the growth and protection of his system of religion; and probably most of all by his high tones of disdain towards ministers who had nothing but the learning of the schools to support their teachings,—all this doubtless might be interpreted as overweaning arrogance. But such was not the character of Joseph Smith. The world, after all deductions are made on the score of natural self-reliance, is woefully wrong in its conception of this man's character. His enthusiasm was the enthusiasm of a soul on fire with truth, not of ignorant excitability. His boldness and independence were the boldness and independence of an overmastering conviction of duty. The spectacle of a man wholly absorbed in his work is so rare as to excite the curiosity of the vulgar and to invite their ridicule and enmity. Howard relieving human woe in dingy prisons; Galileo revealing new truths concerning the stars; Columbus discovering another world; and, if, we may say it without irreverence by the comparison, the Lord Jesus working out the earth's redemption and man's—these have brought on misunderstandings enough to teach men a sad lesson.

Joseph Smith was not a fanatic, he was not an egotist; he was only one of those few—one in a generation—who come into the world bearing a message of truth from heaven, and who cannot rest until they have done their full duty, whatever treatment they may receive in return. He had a herculean task

to perform, which was to uproot an old faith consecrated by many hundred years of devotion, and to replace that by a new one; and no timorous,apologetic, pusillanimous conduct would have accomplished the work which had been imposed upon him. Indeed, it would have been just cause for astonishment had Joseph's attitude toward the religious world been anything but bold, energetic, aggressive. God Almighty had told him with his own lips, as the boy stood in the divine presence, that none of the creeds among men was recognized by Heaven, and that he had been chosen to bring about a restoration of the true faith; and relying implicitly on the word of God to him, he permitted nothing to turn him aside from the path of his duty. What the world required was not only an authoritative announcement concerning their false creeds and the true way, but that announcement in tones that would reverberate throughout the world. And they obtained it in the voice of the Modern Seer.

Such then, was the meaning which this great revelation had for the Prophet. Its significance to the world, however, was to be even greater.

Let it not be put down to narrowness and egotism in the entire body of "Mormons" that they look upon this vision as of so much importance as to concern the spiritual welfare of the whole human family. Equally lowly and insignificant events in the world's history have touched the interests of the entire race of man. Who, for instance, living in the days of Herod the Great, in Palestine, would have believed that a child born of peasants in such an obscure village as Bethlehem, and under such circumstances as surrounded the birth of Christ, would say and do things that would color and condition the stream of human thought, from his day onward, and would contribute more than all other persons whatsoever toward the elevation of mankind in what is permanently good and true? And yet this is exactly what has

occurred. Surely, before such a solemn fact, silence, not scorn, would be the better attitude on the part of those who treat "Mormonism" with contempt. And so the Saints have always contended that this first revelation of Joseph Smith's, is fraught with grave consequences to mankind, whether they will receive it or not. Nor could it be otherwise, and maintain its distinctively divine character, any more than the message of any of the other prophets could be, or even that of Jesus himself. Such is the inevitable nature of truth —it will either save or condemn those who hear it.

This vision was, in the first place, an authoritative announcement to all the world that the Church of Christ was not to be found on the earth. Many independent and progressive men had already, it is true, arrived at this conclusion through their own unaided reflections, and had withdrawn from the churches either to make an honest effort towards bringing about a return to primitive Christianity, or to await in silence the restoration of the true church. Many others had felt vaguely that everything was not as it should be with their religion, but believed it better to be associated with some one of the sects than to break away from them all. But a great many, perhaps the majority of Christians, reposed as much confidence in their man-invented creeds as if these had been fresh-written by the finger of God. Their faith, however, was destined to receive a rude shock in the first message of "Mormonism." "Your creeds are *all* wrong," declared this new faith, "and are an abomination in the sight of the Lord. Your professors teach for doctrines the commandments of men; and have a form of godliness, but deny the power thereof." There was no vagueness or ambiguity here, no hesitancy in the tones with which it was delivered. The young Prophet spoke as one having authority and not as the uninspired. No wonder that since these strong words were first uttered men have frequently turned with alarm

to a re-examination, sometimes to a recasting,of their creeds.

Of the changes that occurred in religion, not only in the form of the Church organization, but also in some of the fundamental principles and ordinances, it will be sufficient here only to mention some of the more important of these. It is not urged that the apostasy came about all at once, that men retired at night Christians to find themselves next morning outside the pale of the church; or even that it occurred in one generation. The change happened gradually as day fades into night. During the first three centuries after Christ, the Church was harassed and persecuted by Jew and Gentile, and thousands were put to death. In their scattered and unsettled condition it was impossible for the leaders to exercise personal supervision over the Saints. Hence, little errors crept in here and there, which in time became a fixed part of religion. In those perilous times the quorum of apostles was not perpetuated; and when these died, there was no supreme earthly head to teach the same inspired doctrine to all the separate branches. And when revelation ceased, men soon began to look for reasons why it was no longer necessary. These different Christian societies, left to themselves, dwindled away from the truth, step by step, and in separate paths, till, under the "bishops" of Rome, a great many of them were brought to a reasonable harmony of doctrine, but not to the original way. Then followed those days of peace, when the church suffered more alterations from its contact with Paganism than it had through the period of its gloomiest persecution. The Empire became "Christian," the Church became popular; the divine precepts of Jesus were "received" by heathen minds where they were gradually remolded into a form which its divine Founder would have been unable to recognize; concessions were made to the unbelievers in order to bring them into the fold; doctrines were changed;

worship was made more gorgeous to correspond with what the new converts had been accustomed to; the absurd and unscriptural doctrine of trans-substantiation and the elevation of the host was introduced; immersion became sprinkling; the baptism of adults was succeeded by the baptism of infants; the simple and lucid idea of the Godhead became a hopeless muddle in minds that had been used to the sophism of the Neo-Platonic philosophy; bishops lost the standard of judging truth; and the whole procession of pompous and glittering error marched down the centuries, accumulating in kind as it went, until almost every remnant of Christian truth was overwhelmed in the darkness of the Middle Ages.

All this the Protestants will admit and the Catholics cannot deny. And yet Protestants and Catholics alike continue to adhere to their peculiar forms of religion; the latter because they cannot see that their dark history denies them the honor of being the depository of God's truth, the former because they imagine that the Reformation corrected these abuses and restored the pure flame of the primitive Church. But a little reflection by the light of this latter-day vision, will show how utterly untenable such a position is. In view of the history of the "Christian Church," how could the authority of the holy priesthood have been transmitted through such unholy vessels as we know existed in the mediæval clergy? That, after all, is the vital question, not the external changes, nor even the changes in principle, great as these were, which have taken place in religion; for these are simply indications of a lack of divine authority. That is the question, too, which "Mormonism" asks the religious world. Everything else may be brushed aside, in this controversy, as of comparative insignificance. In vain is it that ministers in the churches of Christendom point to the commission of Jesus to his apostles. That was given alone

to them, the eleven as they sat with him upon the Mount of Olives. In vain, too, may Protestant clergymen invoke the aid of tradition and say that they obtain their authority from the apostles through the Catholic Church. The Roman hierarchy cut them off as apostates and delivered them over to the buffetings of Satan, and hence whatever divine calling they formerly held was revoked by their act of severing themselves from the see of Rome.

But in vain likewise may the Catholics themselves point to their long line of succession from St.Peter to Pius the Tenth. For even if it were certain that the chief of the apostles held the Roman bishopric, and if, moreover, there were no fatal gaps in this long succession, it is impossible that the Priesthood of the Son of God should have flowed down to us through such a corrupt channel as extended from the days immediately succeeding those of the apostles to our own. And since both Catholics and Protestants scorn, not only the fact of new revelation, but also the need for any, it is perfectly clear that they are altogether without divine authority. It is doubtless true that the Protestant "Reformaion" and what is termed the Catholic "Counter-Reformation" lopped off a good many withered branches, modified a few ceremonies, and purified morals in the church. But this did not, and could not, restore the priesthood. That could be done only by a reopening of the heavens and a bestowal of it upon men by those who unquestionably held it anciently. Such, pressed to its last analysis, is the meaning of the apostasy—the great significance also, to the world, of this first revelation to the modern Prophet.

In the next place,this vision was a corrective of many false notions that had grown up between this and the apostolic age respecting the personality of God and the nature of the Godhead. Jesus taught that "to know" the Father and

the Son is "life eternal." But in no respect has modern Christianity departed farther from the truth than in this particular. The Christian God of today no more resembles the God of the Bible than the incoherent utterances of the idiot are like the profound and subtle reasonings of the philosopher. Instead of the vague and formless deity that apostate Christianity has conjured up out of the depths of pagan philosophy and mysticism, we have in this revelation a clear and distinct personality, not only of the Son, but also of the Father. This is why the angel of John's Revelation, who in the last days was to deliver his message to "every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people," cried with a loud voice: "Worship him that made the heavens and the earth, the sea and the fountains of water;" and it was the task of this first vision to swing the ideas of mankind round to the true God from the "incorporeal," "bodiless and passionless" being of the modern world. With respect to the unity of the Godhead there is a similar divergence from the Scriptural doctrine. The almost universal opinion of Christians today is that there are three Gods mysteriously fused into one personality; in other words, that there are three Gods in one. "There is one person of the Father, another of the Son, and another of the Holy Ghost," is the contradictory jargon of the Athanasian creed, which is considered orthodox by most Christians; "and yet there are not three eternals, but one eternal."

But this vision of the modern Prophet reveals clearly the mystifying effects and the absurdity of such a conception, if it can really be called by so definite a term, and brings out the Scriptural doctrine in a way that cannot be mistaken. In the first place, God wears the same form that man does. That is to say, He is in bodily form, has a body of flesh and bones like man's, with this essential difference, however, that

God is perfect and glorified and immortal. And this applies to both the Father and the Son. In the next place, these two Personages are as separate and distinct as any two human individuals are. Two heavenly Beings appeared to Joseph, and one, pointing to the other, said, "This is My Beloved Son." There is no vagueness here, no mystic and unintelligible union; there can be no occasion for refined quibbling over this revelation. Men might dispute concerning the apparently plain declarations of the Scriptures, but here was no possibility of misconception or difference of opinion. Here was a fact, not merely an expression.

Indeed, in this first vision of the Prophet's there is essentially a reinforcement of the great fundamentals of the Christian faith. "Mormonism," in this revelation, came forward as a reaffirmation of Bible doctrine. It declared substantially to the world; "You have departed from the truth, and made the word of God of none effect by your traditions. You have not truly believed the Scriptures, else you would long ago have settled your differences. You have not believed in the efficacy of prayer. You have spurned the only source of wisdom, and gone after the opinions of men, which have led you woefully astray. But the Bible is true; there is efficacy in prayer. Moreover, you have denied the need of revelations, visions, miracles, when you had no authority in the word of God for doing so. These things are as necessary now as they ever were at any time in the history of the world." Such, in brief, is the message of "Mormonism" to the world in this revelation.

It is not contended that these points which we have enumerated were new to the world. On the contrary, it is admitted that they are taught in the Bible. But the value of the vision is not lessened to this generation on that account; it is still a revelation in the full sense of the term. For in every one of these particulars the Christian world had left

the way of truth, and it was in essentially the same condition, so far as these doctrines were concerned, as it would have been if these important truths had not been set forth in the Scriptures. A profound quiet had settled down upon the soul of man, which exercised a deadening influence over him religiously. He looked but saw not; he had ears but heard not; he had a heart, but was totally unable to comprehend. What was needed, therefore, was a voice to break the stillness, a bold statement of these facts in tones that no one could misunderstand. And this was a part of the mission of the Prophet Joseph, which he accomplished with singular fidelity and power.

In view of all these things we can better comprehend the fact that the Father and the Son visited the earth on this occasion. Such a thing, so far at least as we have any information, had never occurred before in the history of man, though we read of instances where each appeared separately. This vision was to notify the world of certain important facts, concerning the creeds of men, the true nature of God, the opening of the new Era, in preparation for the second coming of Christ. In a word, the Dispensation of the Fulness of Times was ushered in by this revelation. This is why the Father and the Son appeared, and why, too, the Prince of the air sought so desperately the destruction of the instrument of this great restoration on the very threshold of a mighty epoch.

CHAPTER II

THE OTHER SHEEP

From the spring of 1820 to the autumn of 1823—a period of nearly three years and a half—Joseph received no further communication from heaven.

An Interval of Three Years.

During this time, he tells us, he "frequently fell into many foolish errors, and displayed the weakness of youth and the foibles of human nature." We need not be at all surprised at this. He was persecuted by those who, according to the principles they affected so devoutly to believe, should have endeavored, in a teachable spirit, to convince him that he was wrong in crediting his vision; or, failing in this, ought at least to have followed Gamaliel's advice, given under circumstances not dissimilar: "If this work is of men, it will come to naught, but if it be of God, we cannot overthrow it, lest haply we be found even to fight against God." But they chose to use a less tolerant method. His company was shunned by those whom he would otherwise have associated with, and he was, therefore, driven into the society of a less desirable class, and exposed to temptation. Being of a jovial disposition, moreover, he did not always resist the evil into which he was thrown.

It is not to be inferred from this, however, that he was guilty of any grave sin, such as those have tried to make out who take advantage of his candid avowals concerning his earlier life. His errors consisted only of the usual follies of

young persons of his condition of life—levity and trifling conversation. "It cannot be shown," he says, in answer to those who afterwards made the most of the words quoted above, "that I have been guilty of wronging or injuring any man or society of men." Nevertheless, such was the sensitiveness of his nature, and so deeply had his feelings been touched by the vision, that his conscience pricked him keenly for any misstep he might have taken, however slight. It might seem a small matter for others to sow the seeds of youthful folly—such must have been his reflections during this period—but he had in open vision been called in a singular manner to the greatest of all human labor. It would not do, therefore, for him to pattern after his associates; he must order his life in harmony with his own higher conscience and the divine calling which had been imposed upon him.

It argues a frank and open soul in the Prophet Joseph, and evidences his sacred appointment, that, in subsequent years, when he had gathered about him many thousand people who looked to him for spiritual guidance, he published an account of these early weaknesses; for in doing so he exposed himself to the evil-minded and the skeptical. Had he been a false prophet, he would ever have been on the alert to disarm suspicion by enshrouding his past in a mysterious and holy atmosphere, after the manner of religious impostors. But a candid, honest avowal of his imperfections conformed better with his claim of prophet. He was content to let the works that he did testify of his divine calling. And the Saints, knowing his candor even when his reputation might suffer thereby, felt that they could trust him implicitly in all things.

During these years he was always employed, either on his father's farm or on the farms of his neighbors. Among those for whom he worked at this time was a man by the

name of Joseph Knight, who afterwards testified that the young man always did his work intelligently and faithfully. A Mr. Reid, too, a man who never joined the Church, but who, on at least two occasions later than this, defended the Prophet in the courts of law, before which Joseph had been unjustly dragged by his enemies, made a statement concerning the character of Joseph during this period of his life. He declares that, during the two years Joseph lived in the neighborhood of Colesville, he was known as a young man of "irreproachable character, intelligence, and good morals, possessing a mind susceptible of the highest attainments." Meantime, the Prophet steadfastly maintained wherever he went that he had received a heavenly manifestation; and in consequence continued to suffer a great deal of opposition, chiefly from the professedly religious.

Moroni's Message.

It was now the twenty-first of September, 1823. Night had settled down on the little town of Manchester, and the Smith family, including the boy Joseph, had retired to rest.

But the young man's spirit was troubled. He thought upon the vision of three and a half years ago, and upon the long silence that had intervened between that glorious revelation and the present. Why had not the Lord spoken to him during all this time? Had there not been in that vision a promise of future direction? Doubtless it was on account of his sins that this promise had not been fulfilled. He had not unlikely, he thought, exhibited a mind too light and careless to be the instrument of the great Restoration. God, it might be, accounted him too weak and unworthy to continue the work so miraculously begun. But could he not be forgiven? Surely, his sins had not been so grievous as totally to unfit him for his promised labor. Touched to the quick by a consciousness of his imperfections, he deeply re-

gretted that he had ever given way to temptation. His soul yearned to know his status with heaven. He determined therefore to pray, and his faith was strong that God would deign an answer.

Suddenly, as he prayed, his room grew light until it was like noonday for brightness. A heavenly person, beautiful beyond description, appeared at his bedside, standing in the air and encircled by the most brilliant light. He had on a loose-flowing robe of the most exquisite whiteness—a whiteness above anything earthly; and he apparently wore no other clothing, for the robe was open at the bosom. The hands and wrists were bare, as also were the feet and ankles and head. His countenance shone with ineffable light and beauty.

At first Joseph was afraid, but the benign countenance and the gentle voice of the angel, as he pronounced the young man's name, dispelled all fear. The holy personage announced himself to be Moroni, an angel sent from the presence of God. The Lord had a work for Joseph to do, in consequence of which his name should be had among all nations for good and evil. This work concerned a book of golden plates which lay buried in a hill near Manchester and which gave an account of the origin and history of the ancient inhabitants of this continent, the ancestors of the American Indians. In addition, the record contained the fulness of the gospel as it was given these people by the Savior in person. With the book lay hidden the urim and thummim, an instrument which the Lord had preserved for the purpose of translating the record. The time had not yet come for Joseph to receive the plates; he would have to wait a little while till the Lord saw fit to intrust him with them; and even when they were given into his hands, he would be prohibited from showing them to any one, except as God might direct.

Then Moroni quoted some of the ancient prophecies. He repeated the third and fourth chapters of Malachi, in which the ancient prophet foretells Christ's second coming, preceded, as was the first, by a special messenger, and the great and terrible day of burning that shall come upon the ungodly. He quoted the eleventh chapter of Isaiah, which speaks of the gathering in the last days, with the comment that these predictions were about to be fulfilled. He explained that the prophet spoken of in the twenty-second and twenty-third verses of the third chapter of The Acts is Jesus Christ, but that the time had not yet come when "every soul which will not hear that prophet shall be destroyed." Then he commented upon the second chapter of Joel from the twenty-eighth to the last verse. Not all the prophecy was fulfilled at the time of the apostle Peter's discourse on the day of Pentecost, but all should soon be fulfilled. He repeated other passages of Scripture and made comments thereon. How the face of the young listener must have glowed and his heart thrilled with joy or terror as he listened alternately to the gentle music of the voice that uttered blessings on those who would tread the ways of peace, and to the thundering accents that predicted wrath and destruction on the heads of the disobedient.

The voice of the angel ceased; the room became dark and quiet as before; the heavenly Messenger had gone; and the youthful Joseph was alone marveling at the strangeness of what he had seen and heard. All of a sudden, Moroni reappeared, surrounded as before with brilliant light, repeated without the slightest variation, the message he had only a moment ago finished, and added that great judgments should come upon the ungodly soon—pestilence, disease, earthquakes, death by famine, the waves, and the sword. Again he ascended in a conduit of light, which had gathered in an instant about his person; and again Joseph was

alone in the dark, utterly overwhelmed with astonishment. Once more the heavenly Messenger was at his bedside; once more he repeated the message that he had already twice delivered, and this time also without variation of a word. He added a caution and warning to Joseph that, in consequence of the lowly circumstances of his father's family and the great worth of the plates, Satan would tempt him to use them for material gain. But they were sacred and were not to be used except for a sacred purpose. If, therefore, Joseph should entertain any worldly intentions concerning them, they should not be intrusted to his care; but if, on the contrary, he would determine in his own mind to use them only as God might direct, no power should be permitted to interfere with the work of translation. With this third visit the vision closed, and Joseph's room was flooded by the early dawn.

Joseph Visits Cumorah.

At the usual hour Joseph rose and went into the field to reap with his father and his brother Alvin. But his thoughts were elsewhere than on his work. He was extremely pale, and utterly exhausted from the past night's extraordinary scenes. His father, noticing his condition and thinking it due to a sudden attack of illness, told him to return to the house. He started on his way, but in attempting to climb over the fence bounding the field, his strength deserted him, and he fell to the ground unconscious. On coming to himself, he heard his name gently pronounced, and looking up beheld the heavenly Messenger of the previous night standing above him in the air, surrounded as before with brilliant light. Then, for the fourth time, Moroni delivered his message, all he had spoken three times the night before, ending with a command for Joseph to return to his father in the field and tell him all that had occurred, and afterwards to

repair to the hill for the purpose of viewing the sacred treasure. The Prophet went back as directed, and rehearsed these four visions to his father, who listened to the marvelous story, and then bade him do exactly as the angel had instructed him.

About four miles south of Manchester, where Joseph lived, midway between this town and Palmyra, on the road to Canadaigua, stands a hill which the stranger would easily and naturally observe among the hills in the neighborhood because of its size and form. It is not large, speaking of hills in general, but is much larger than any surrounding it. Rising abruptly from the level plain on the north, it gradually descends till its southern extremity is lost in small ridges and ravines. At this time there was a heavy growth of timber covering the hill, and this circumstance doubtless furnished one reason for choosing it in ancient times as a place of deposit for the sacred record. At present, however, there are only a few trees scattered here and there on the western slope, the eastern having for years been under cultivation. Anticipating our narrative somewhat, we may observe that the hill has borne various names. Among the Jaredites—a numerous and powerful race that occupied North America from the confusion of tongues at Babel till about six hundred years before Christ—it bore the name "Ramah." By the descendants of Lehi—a people who flourished mainly in South America from the latter date till the end of the fourth century, A. D.—it was called "Cumorah." To those who live in its vicinity today it is known as "Mormon Hill," from the circumstance of Joseph's finding the plates of the Book of Mormon there. According to the ancient record so long buried in its bosom, this hill has witnessed many a hard-fought and bloody battle, in whose gory balance the fates of powerful nations have been suspended; and the war-like heroes of two expiring races have here

spent their last efforts in defense of their countries. Cumorah, therefore, is in reality one of the most interesting and historic monuments to be found in the Americas.

After telling his father of the angel's appearing and instructions, Joseph proceeded to visit this hill. On the way he was strongly tempted of the devil as the angel had told him he would be. Thoughts would come into his mind of the immense commercial value of this golden treasure and how by disposing of it he might raise his family from poverty into a state of comparative wealth and influence. Then would press upon him the words of the heavenly keeper: "This record is holy and must be used only for holy purposes." In this way did good and evil intentions struggle in his mind for the mastery, till he reached the hill; his joy at the prospects of obtaining the treasured records would be inevitably followed by thoughts of hardship and toil on the one hand and of ease and plenty on the other. Nor must we be at all surprised at this; for Joseph was scarcely eighteen years of age at the time, altogether without experience in these matters, and, besides, his family was even now in poor circumstances. The natural tendency of the human mind, therefore, working in harmony on this occasion with the powers of darkness, would make of the great commercial value of the plates—not only in the wealth of the metal itself, but also in the record as a mere relic of ancient American civilization—an almost overwhelming temptation for a much stronger man than Joseph Smith was then.

Upon reaching the hill he had no difficulty in recognizing the exact spot where the treasure lay buried, having seen the hill and the sacred spot in vision on the preceding night while the angel was speaking to him. Ascending the western side till he nearly reached the top, he observed the rounded surface of a large stone the edges of which were embedded in the earth. With the aid of a lever he removed

this stone, which he found to be the covering of a box. The box had evidently been constructed by standing four flat stones edgewise on the smooth surface of a fifth, and cementing the joinings to prevent any moisture from reaching the plates. No doubt the stone which formed the cover had once been entirely hidden in the earth, but the elements had by this time worn away the soil, so that the rounded top of it might be easily seen. Within this receptacle, on two stones lying crosswise of the bottom, lay the sacred treasure. At this moment, it seems the thought that was uppermost in Joseph's mind was, that the plates would bring him great material gains; for, notwithstanding he had been told by the messenger that the time for obtaining them was not yet come, he reached forth his hands in eagerness to grasp the inestimable treasure. "A shock was produced upon his system, by an invisible power, which deprived him, in a measure, of his natural strength. He desisted for an instant and then made another attempt, but was more sensibly shocked than before." A third trial was equally ineffectual, and he exclaimed: "Why cannot I obtain this book?"

"Because," said a voice close to him, which he recognized as Moroni's, "because you have not kept the commandments of the Lord."

The heavenly keeper of the record then explained how utterly impossible it would be for Joseph to obtain the plates except only by a strict adherence to the commandments of God respecting them. Joseph prayed in his inmost soul for the Lord to overlook his weakness and to give him strength, whereupon he was filled with the Holy Spirit. "The heavens were opened to him and the glory of the Lord shone round about and rested upon him." "Look!" said the angel; and he beheld the prince of darkness, surrounded by his evil train, writhing in the torments of hell. "All this is shown,"

explained Moroni, "the good and the evil, the holy and the impure, the glory of God and the power of darkness, that you may know hereafter the two powers and never be influenced and overcome by the wicked one." The angel on this occasion repeated that wonderful prediction the fulfillment of which has been so literal: "Your name shall be known among the nations, for the work which the Lord will perform by your hands shall cause the righteous to rejoice and the wicked to rage; with one it shall be had in honor, and the other in reproach; yet with these it shall be a terror because of the great and marvelous work which shall follow the coming forth of this fulness of the gospel." Joseph was informed that he must visit the hill annually on the twenty-second of September, at which time he might view the plates and receive instructions from the Lord.

This circumstance of Joseph's visit to the hill is one of the most luminous recorded in history of the way in which God deals with the children of men. In the light reflected by these details, we can understand why it is that Joseph Smith was reared under conditions of toil and privation, why he was chosen at such an early age, and, most of all, why he was required to wait before he was permitted to take the plates of the Book of Mormon. Had he been brought up under circumstances of luxury and ease, he would doubtless have been less pliable in the Lord's hands, as indeed he might have been had he been much older when his education under the direction of the angel commenced. And we may feel sure that God was subjecting the young man to a course of training that was calculated to fit him for the important duties of his calling. He was becoming familiar with temptation by the very side of the angel, and his character was daily receiving divine strength, so that when the time arrived for him to assume the responsibility of taking charge of the plates, he would

no longer entertain any worldly thoughts concerning them. Surely, no education of mortal man was more effective than this for its purpose.

Another Interval.

There is not much recorded of Joseph's life between the year 1823 and the year 1827, when the plates were delivered to him. The circumstances of his father's family made it necessary for him to labor with his hands for their maintenance and his. The marvelous revelations which he had received, and the promises concerning his future, did not puff up his mind, making him feel that he was above the rest of the family or above doing manual labor. These superior blessings only made him the more humble and willing to do his share of the work. At this time his services were needed the more, for in November, 1824, his eldest brother, Alvin, died. Concerning Alvin, it may be remarked, in passing, that he believed firmly in the divine calling of Joseph and that, according to his mother's account, he was more anxious concerning the forthcoming Record than any other member of the family except, of course, the Prophet. He was a young man of singular goodness of disposition, we are told, and when he died there was general sorrow in the neighborhood.

In October, 1825, Joseph hired with a Mr. Josiah Stoal, who lived in an adjacent county, but who was just then considerably affected over some old Spanish silver mines in Harmony, Pennsylvania, which were being reworked. So he took all his hired help, including Joseph, to Harmony and instituted a fruitless search for silver in that part of the State. At the end of about a month devoted to his chasing of a phantom, Joseph induced the old gentleman to give up the task and engage in more profitable labor. This connection with Mr. Stoal has given rise to the common story of his having been a "money-digger," and his enemies and the enemies

of the Church he established have endeavored to throw into this term all the reproach of a really bad epithet, as if his having been so employed would be inconsistent with his claims of prophet.

During his stay at Harmony, Joseph boarded with a Mr. Isaac Hale. It was at this time and under these conditions that he met, and formed an attachment for, Mr. Hale's daughter Emma, who recoprocated his affections. Since Joseph, wherever he went, communicated the facts concerning his visions, it was not at all surprising that when, about two years after this, these two young people desired Mr. Hale's consent to their marriage, the good man objected very decidedly to having his daughter marry a visionary man like the Prophet. However, in January, 1827, the couple were united in marriage in New York State. Out of this has arisen the silly story that Joseph abducted his wife. She was at this time in her twenty-third year, and hence of sufficient age to act for herself.

According to the angel's instructions the Prophet visited the hill Cumorah on September 22d of each year, viewed on each occasion the sacred treasure, and each time met his heavenly teacher, who instructed him in the ways of the Lord. His mother Lucy has recorded the eagerness with which the whole family, especially Joseph, looked forward to the time when the plates should be taken from their long resting-place and given into the hands of the young man; for many a time, of an evening after the day's work, Joseph during these years, held the other members of the family spellbound by his narration of the wonderful manifestations of God's goodness to him, of the angelic ministrations, and of the ancient inhabitants of America. With what tremulous anxiety must Joseph have anticipated this event. And yet, with its coming there would pass upon him a tremendous responsibility. For fourteen centuries had Cumorah pre-

served within her bosom the sacred treasure hidden from the gaze of men. Now it was to be given to him. He was at this time in his twenty-second year—a very young man to receive such a charge. Nevertheless, the passing of these four long years of eager waiting had furnished him the necessary training; he was now perfectly free from all further temptation so far as the money-value of the plates was concerned. His mind, and the minds of the rest of the family likewise, had become so accustomed to thinking about the ancient treasure that there was now no danger of his entertaining any other than proper intentions respecting it. Should thoughts concerning the Record now be suddenly dropped from his mind, there would succeed a terrible emptiness in his life. A few days before his regular visit to the hill, he was informed that the time had come for the delivery of the plates to him.

Joseph Obtains the Plates.

A little past midnight of September 21st, 1827, according to Lucy Smith's *History of the Prophet,* Joseph came into the room where his mother was still sitting up alone, and asked her if she had a chest. Instantly discerning his purpose, she told him that she had not, but requested him to have one made immediately for which she would pay, though she had no money in the house at the time. Joseph then went out, and was shortly afterwards followed by his wife Emma in hood and riding habit. In this dark hour of the night did these two proceed, quietly and alone, to the ancient treasure-house, Joseph, no doubt, going to the place of deposit by himself. Once more he lifted the cover of the stone box, and with trembling eagerness, hallowed now by four years of instruction from the lips of a holy angel, took the plates from their long resting-place. As he did so, the heavenly messenger repeated his warning that wicked men would do all in

their power to take them away from him. "Now you have the record in your own hands," he said, "and you are but a man; therefore you must ever be on your guard, lest wicked men, assisted by the power of darkness, overcome you; for they will lay every plan that they can devise to deprive you of it; and if you do not take heed continually, they will succeed. While it was under my care, no man had power to take it; but now I give it unto you. Beware, therefore, and you shall have power to retain it until it is translated."

CHAPTER III

WHISPERING FROM THE GROUND

Difficulties in Preserving the Plates.

Joseph had not been in possession of the plates very long before he understood why Moroni had been so positive and explicit in his instructions concerning the care of them. Every strategem that curiosity and cunning, inspired by the adversary, could invent, was resorted to in order to get them from him. Hence he was often put to his wit's ends to preserve them. Upon receiving them from the angel in the early morning of the twenty-second, when he and Emma went to the hill, he secreted them temporarily in the woods. Later he returned for them; and while carrying them home under his cloak, he was assaulted three times by unknown men; but being large and active, he successfully parried the blows of his assailants and reached the house in safety with his precious burden, though he was utterly exhausted by the task of carrying such a weight. Subsequently the house was beset by mobs more than once. His enemies, incredulous enough when it came to the question of Joseph's visions, and deriding the power which, it was rumored, he possessed of looking into the future, were nevertheless not ashamed to employ the services of conjurors and diviners in order to ascertain the place where the record was deposited. The plates were usually kept in a chest made especially for them; but often they had to be taken out and hidden elsewhere. Once

they were put under the floor of an old work-shop not far from the house; on another occasion they were secreted in the hearth, some bricks having been removed for the purpose. Moreover, slander, with her multitudinous tongues, was now busier than ever originating and spreading every absurd and wicked tale that was in the least likely to befoul the names of the Smith family, especially Joseph's, or put them in a ridiculous light before the public. Every circumstance in their past lives was distorted and colored to suit the purpose of the evil minded.

Constantly harassed thus by the evil-disposed, Joseph was unable to obtain the necessary quiet and safty for translating the record; and having, in addition, to labor for his daily maintenance, he could not find time and means to perform his divine task. He thought, therefore, of moving from Manchester. Harmony, his wife's former home, suggested itself. Moreover, he had received an invitation from the Hale family to stay with them. But his straightened circumstances presented an apparently insurmountable barrier. At this juncture a respectable and well-to-do farmer—Martin Harris—offered him the sum of fifty dollars to assist him, which the Prophet gratefully accepted. Packing his household effects, among which he concealed the plates, he and his wife left Manchester for Harmony, a journey of more than one hundred miles. On his way he was twice overtaken and stopped by officers of the law, who, thinking to discover the plates, searched the wagon carefully, but departed much chagrined at not finding anything besides the usual articles.

The Harris-Anthon Controversy.

On reaching Harmony, he established himself at Mr. Hale's home, where he had leisure during the next month or so, to examine more carefully the writings on the plates, and to do

some desultory translating. He copied a few lines of characters on sheets of paper, underneath some of which he wrote the translation in English. Meantime, he prayed for the Lord to send some one to assist him, for he himself was but an indifferent scribe.

In February of the year 1828, Martin Harris visited him at Harmony. Martin had been deeply impressed by his former conversation with Joseph, and therefore desired to learn more of the latter's strange mission. Remaining for some time at the Prophet's home, Harris departed for New York, carrying, with Joseph's permission, the transcriptions of the ancient characters which the Prophet had made. These he intended submitting to learned linguists for their judgment as to the genuineness of them, so as to satisfy his own mind respecting the claims of the new Seer.

These copies he submitted to Charles Anthon, then adjunct-professor of ancient languages in Columbia College. According to Harris's report to the Prophet, the professor, after examining the characters, pronounced them genuine, and the tanslation of such of them as had been submitted as nearly correct as the learned linguist could determine. At Harris's request, Anthon wrote a certificate to this effect. Putting the letter into his pocket, Martin was on the point of leaving, when the professor asked where the young man spoken of had obtained the plates. "An angel of the Lord revealed them to him," was the reply. Professor Anthon thereupon asked to see the certificate again, as if to make some changes. When he received it, he tore it up, remarking that there was no such thing nowadays as the ministering of angels, but added incredulously that he would translate the book if it were brought to him. Mr. Harris replied that part of it was sealed. Then the scholar answered sarcastically, "I cannot read a sealed book!" Thus, as the Saints have always contended, were fulfilled the

words of the Prophet Isaiah uttered twenty-six hundred years before as found in the twenty-ninth chapter of his writings: "The vision of all is become unto you as the words of a book that is sealed, which men deliver to one that is learned, saying, Read this, I pray thee; and he saith, *I cannot, for it is sealed.*" Martin then showed the transcripts to a Dr. Mitchell, also of New York, who, on learning what Professor Anthon had said concerning them, confirmed the latter's opinion.

A good deal of controversy has grown out of this apparently trivial circumstance, and non-"Mormon" writers have taken great pains to throw discredit on Martin Harris's statements. It is doubtless a fact that when Pofessor Anthon learned that the Latter-day Saint elders were quoting him in support of what he termed a hoax, he manifested, as was natural, no little embarrassment, and availed himself of every opportunity to put himself in what he would regard as a proper light. At any rate, six years after the time when Harris called on him, the Professor, in a letter to E. D. Howe, who, in collaboration with D. P. Hurlburt, was writing a book against "Mormonism," denied ever having said to Martin Harris that the characters were genuine, or given him a statement to that effect. His exact words are—"The whole story about my pronouncing the Mormon inscription to be 'reformed Egyptian hieroglyphics' is perfectly false. Some years ago a plain, apparently simple-hearted farmer called on me with a note from Dr. Mitchell, of our city, now dead, requesting me to decipher, if possible, the paper which the farmer would hand me, and which Dr. M. confessed he had been unable to understand. Upon examining the paper in question, I soon came to the conclusion that it was all a trick—perhaps a hoax." The letter goes on to tell what Harris said to Prof. Anthon, concerning the "gold book," and then says—"The farmer added that he had been requested to

contribute a sum of money toward the publication of the 'golden book,' the contents of which would, as he had been assured produce an entire change in the world, and save it from ruin. So urgent had been these solicitations, that he intended selling his farm, and handing over the amount to those who wished to publish the plates. As a last precautionary step, however, he had resolved to come to New York and obtain the opinion of the learned about the meaning of the paper which he had brought with him, and which had been given him as part of the contents of the book, although no translation had been furnished at the time by the young man with the spectacles. On hearing this odd story, I changed my opinion about the paper, and, instead of viewing it any longer as a hoax upon the learned, I began to regard it as a part of a scheme to cheat the farmer of his money, and I communicated my suspicions to him, warning him to beware of the rogues. He requested an opinion from me in writing, which, of course, I declined giving, and then he took his leave, carrying his paper with him." What follows in this somewhat extensive letter is a description of the "paper" carried by the "plain farmer," and an account of a second visit by Harris with a book which he wished to leave with the Professor, but which the Professor would not receive. So much for this communication to Howe.

Seven years later, namely, in 1841, Professor Anthon wrote a letter on the same subject to a Rev. Dr. T. W. Coit, which is sometimes referred to by anti-"Mormon" writers, but rarely quoted by them in full. In this letter he makes the following statement: "I have often heard that the Mormons claimed me for an auxiliary but as no one until the present time has even requested from me a statement in writing, I have not deemed it worth while to say anything publicly on the subject. . . . . He then proceeded to give me the history of the whole affair, which convinced me that he had

fallen into the hands of some sharper, while it left me in great astonishment at his simplicity. On my telling the bearer of the paper that an attempt had been made to impose on him and defraud him of his property, he requested me to give him my opinion in writing about the paper which he had shown to me. *I did so without hesitation,* partly for the man's sake, and partly to let the individual behind the curtain see that his trick was discovered. The import of what I wrote was, as far as I can now recollect, that the marks in the paper appeared to be merely an imitation of various alphabetical characters, and had, in my opinion, no meaning at all connected with them."

It remains for us to sum up the statements made by Martin Harris to Joseph Smith and those, also, made by Professor Anthon to Howe and Coit. It is clear from all three (1) that Harris called on both Dr. Mitchell and Professor Anthon, (2) that he carried with him a paper on which were inscribed what purported to be ancient characters, and (3) that Harris's purpose in submitting this paper to learned men was an honest desire to satisfy his own mind concerning the correctness of what was written thereon so as to be reasonably sure that Joseph Smith had the plates. But there are some disagreements not only between what Harris and Anthon say, but also between what the Professor says to Howe and what he says to Coit. Martin Harris declares that Professor Anthon told him the characters were genuine and the translation submitted was correct so far as the Professor was able to tell. Professor Anthon denies this and declares that what he did say was, that they were mere imitations of various alphabetical characters and had no meaning. Harris further affirms that Professor Anthon gave him a paper to this effect; which the Professor denies in the letter to Howe and admits in the communication to Coit.

though what he claims to have written was extremely unfavorable to the "paper" carried by Harris.

What about these conflicting statements? It is reasonably certain that Professor Anthon made some favorable comments upon the characters; else Harris, who is accounted even by non-"Mormons" a man of "natural shrewdness," would not have sold his farm to pay for the publication of the Book of Mormon; especially when we consider that his wife was all along bitterly opposed to the new revelation on this very score of material loss. It is equally clear, too, that in the certificate which the Professor gave to Martin Harris, he must have embodied substantially the same favorable opinion; otherwise of what value would the certificate have been to Harris? This idea receives confirmation from the fact that Martin was besieged by his friends and relatives for evidence that he had not gone mad in following what appeared to them a clear case of delusion. Had he, therefore, been able to show a statement signed by such a learned man as Professor Anthon, he could easily have justified his conduct. No other statement would have answered the purpose, and he would not have asked for one unless the oral comments of the Professor had given him some ground for believing that it would be of use to him. Nor is there any doubt that the learned linguist told Harris what he declares in both letters he did say, namely, that an effort was made to defraud the countryman of his property, and the rest. But it is very probable that he said these things after learning where "the young man with the spectacles" had obtained the plates; and this, in the eyes of Harris, would have been really favorable to Joseph Smith's claims and made a good impression on his mind, since, when Anthon looked at the characters without knowing where they came from he pronounced them genuine, whereas he had an opposite opinion when he found out that they were connected with angelic

ministrations. The whole affair, after all concessions are made of probable though unintentional exaggeration on the part of Harris, is extremely favorable to the statement made by him to Joseph and published to the world shortly afterwards.

Returning to the Prophet at Harmony, Martin related to him what had occurred between himself and the learned men. His doubts being for the time silenced, he left Joseph to go to Palmyra, promising that, as soon as he could arrange his business affairs, he would return to assist in the work of translation. This was early in March. About a month later he came back, and the work of translation continued uninterruptedly for two months.

The Lost Manuscript.

But as Harris listened day after day to the wonderful words that fell from the lips of the young Seer, his persistent skepticism returned, and he sought to make another test to satisfy it. Now, the Prophet had a small stone, which he called a "seerstone," and which he and his brother Hyrum had found at the bottom of a well. This stone Joseph sometimes employed, instead of the urim and thummim, to translate the language on the plates. Martin Harris, having found a similar stone, substituted it for the one that Joseph used, without, of course, saying anything to him about it. When the Prophet and he again took up the work of translation, a long silence followed, which was broken by the exclamation from the Prophet: "Martin, what is the matter? All is dark!" Harris, with shame, confessed to what he had done, excusing himself by saying that he did it either to prove the utterance, or stop the mouths, of fools, who declared that Joseph had learned the sentences which he was dictating.

This circumstance passed, and Martin was forgiven, when

a more serious one occurred to stop the progress of the work for a time.

It was now approaching the middle of June. Steadily and satisfactorily the work had progressed. Joseph had dictated, and Martin had written, one hundred and sixteen pages of foolscap. One day the latter requested the Prophet's permission to show the manuscript to his relatives, in order, doubtless, to convince them that he was not laboring under a delusion, but engaged in the work of God. Martin's wife, it appears, was at the bottom of this; for being of a worldly turn of mind, she was strongly opposed to her husband's devoting his time and money to a labor that brought no material gain. The Prophet inquired of the Lord, with the result that permission was not granted. But Martin was not satisfied with the answer; he requested Joseph to ask again. The Prophet did this, and with the same result. Still Martin was not content; the Prophet must ask again. A third time, therefore, did Joseph importune the Lord. This time permission was given on the condition that Harris would show them only to his wife, his brother, his father and mother, and a Mrs. Cobb, his wife's sister; five persons in all. Joseph bound Martin in the most solemn manner not to show the writings to any one else. So Martin took the manuscript and went to his home in Palmyra. Meantime, Joseph, availing himself of the opportunity afforded by Harris's absence, of transacting some private business, went on a visit to his father's family at Manchester. But Martin, regardless of his covenant with Joseph and the Lord, did show the writings to others, who succeeded in surreptitiously making way with them; and neither he nor Joseph ever saw them again.

For his disobedience in this affair, Martin Harris was never afterwards permitted to write for the Prophet, though he was uttely dejected over the loss of the manuscripts and his own unfortunate violation of a sacred oath. But the bur-

den of punishment fell on Joseph. For having needlessly importuned the Lord, he was deprived of the plates and the urim and thummim. He felt most keenly his condition. But as he sincerely repented, both were subsequently restored to him. Meanwhile, he had learned a valuable lesson, which he never forgot. "Although a man may have many revelations," the Lord declared to him under these depressing circumstances, "and have power to do many mighty works; yet if he boasts in his own strength, and sets at naught the counsels of God and follows after the dictates of his own will and carnal desires, he must fall and incur the venegeance of a just God upon him." He instructed Joseph not to attempt a retranslation of that part the copy of which had been lost. It had fallen into the hands of wicked men, into whose hearts Satan had put a purpose to alter the language of the manuscript. If, therefore, Joseph should translate again this part of the Book of Mormon, these men would show both copies to the world, this second and the original in a changed form, and declare that the Prophet could not translate twice alike; and thus they thought to frustrate the work of God.

What was Joseph to do, then? The Lord had made provision for this very thing. There were some "small plates" among those which Joseph had received from the angel, which covered the same period of Nephite history as the part that had been translated, but which contained more of religious history than the other. Readers of the Book of Mormon will recall the words of Nephi and also those of Mormon when the former made these "small plates" and the latter bound them with the abridgment which he had made for "a wise purpose," though neither knew what that wise purpose was. These the Prophet was instructed to translate and put at the beginning in the place that would have been occupied by the part which had been lost. This was the record of Nephi and his spiritual successors down to King Benja-

min's reign, covering in our present Book of Mormon the first one hundred and fifty-seven pages. It may be remarked here, in passing, that this circumstance throws considerable light on the vexed question of human agency and the extent to which it is exercised in the performance of duties imposed directly upon man by Deity.

From this time till the following April, a period of nearly ten months, the work of translation was all but stayed, and when it was taken up again it had to be done from the beginning. Joseph was without a scribe, now that Martin Harris was prohibited from assisting him. Moreover, his personal affairs required his attention. Being at this time without means of support, he worked on a small farm, which he had purchased of his father-in-law. Meantime, Joseph prayed continually for the Lord to open the way for the further translation of the record.

Oliver Cowdery as Amanuensis.

On April 5th, 1829, Joseph received a visit from Oliver Cowdery, a young man whom he had not met before this. Cowdery had been teaching school at Manchester during the preceding winter, and having boarded with the Smith family for a time, according to the custom of country school-teachers in those days, he had naturally learned much from them about the revelations of the Lord to Joseph. Moreover, he had met David Whitmer, a young man of about his own age living at Fayette, a few miles distant, with whom he had frequent conversations in relation to the golden plates which, according to the general rumor, were in the possession of Joseph Smith. All this had made a profound impression upon the mind of young Oliver, and he determined to visit the Prophet at Harmony as soon as his school was out in the spring, for the purpose of ascertaining more certainly the truth of what he had heard. On his way he called on

David Whitmer, to whom he promised to write the result of his findings when he reached Harmony. This is how Oliver Cowdery came to visit the Prophet at this time.

That the conversation which occurred between these two young men was satisfactory to Oliver is evident from his remaining with the Prophet to write for him. Subsequently, the Prophet received a revelation in which occurs this remarkable passage addressed to Cowdery: "If you desire a further witness, cast your mind upon the night when you cried unto me in your heart, that you might know concerning the truth of these things. Did I not speak peace to your mind concerning the matter? What greater witness can you have than from God? And now, behold, you have received a witness, for if I have told you things which no man knoweth, have you not received a witness?" Oliver Cowdery thereupon informed Joseph that when he had been told by the Smith family concerning the Nephite plates, he inquired of the Lord one night after retiring, to know whether what he had been told was true, and that God had manifested to him that it was true. But he had kept the matter a secret until now. It must have been shortly after this circumstance that he wrote a letter to his friend David in which he declared that he was certain of Joseph's divine mission and of his having the plates.

Once more, therefore, the work of translation progressed rapidly and uninterruptedly. We have few details during these months, but those we have are important as manifesting the growth of interest in the new revelation. A number of important revelations were received, some of which we shall notice in detail later on. Moreover, the young men were visited by friends and relatives, who eagerly inquired what the Lord would have them do to assist in the "marvelous work and a wonder." They were very much aided in a material way by Joseph's old friend and former

employer, Joseph Knight, who had been interested in the mission of the Prophet, ever since he first knew of it, and whose horse and buggy, according to Lucy Smith's narrative, the Prophet had used on the occasion when he brought the plates home from Cumorah for the first time. During the months that the translation was in progress at Harmony, Mr. Knight came several times from his home in Colesville, New York, with provisions for the inspired workers. If this or something equivalent had not been done, it would have been necessary for the Prophet and his scribe to lay aside their sacred task till they could obtain means by their own labor, to support themselves during the time when they might be engaged in translating. Oliver Cowdery has left on record a description of his feelings as he was performing his part of this divine work. "These were days," he declares, "never to be forgotten—to sit under the sound of a voice dictated by the inspiration of heaven, awakened the utmost gratitude of this bosom. Day after day I continued, uninterrupted, to write from his mouth, as he translated with the urim and thummim." It appears that during this time the young men had reasoned with acquaintances at Harmony upon the things that were absorbing their own attention; but these people were skeptical and suspicious. It was not long, therefore, till there was considerable bitterness of feeling towards them in that neighborhood, which in time threatened the security of the Prophet and his companion. Mobs endangered their bodily safety, and they were saved from personal violence only by the interference of Mr. Hale, Joseph's father-in-law; but even this good-will on the part of Mr. Hale did not continue long. So the young men thought of leaving Harmony.

Now, Oliver Cowdery, in fulfillment of his promise to David Whitmer, had kept the latter informed of his labors with the Prophet. As already stated, he wrote to David soon

after his arrival at Harmony telling him that he was convinced of Joseph's divine calling. Later, he inclosed a few sentences of the translation, so that his friend might see what was being done. In these letters Oliver poured forth his full convictions of the truth so rapturously as to make a strong impression on his friend. Some of these communications David read to the rest of the family, and the effect was the same on them. When, therefore, it became necessary for Joseph and Oliver to leave Harmony in order to have peace for their work of translation, the Prophet directed Oliver to communicate to the Whitmers his desire to remove to their home at Fayette. David says that this request came as a command from the Lord. The result was, that arrangements were entered into according to which the Prophet, his wife, and Oliver were to remain at the Whitmer home until the work was finished and that Joseph was to have the assistance of one of the boys as amanuensis. In the beginning of June the Prophet removed to Fayette, after having lived at Harmony for about fifteen months, only about two of which Oliver Cowdery had been his scribe.

Some very interesting details are related concerning this removal. David Whitmer informs us that it was in the busiest season of the year when there was so much to do on the farm that word came for him to take Joseph and Oliver from Harmony to Fayette, and he thought the trip would have to be delayed till the work was pretty well over. Nevertheless, he, as well as all the other members of the family, was anxious to hasten rather than to put it off. One morning he got up to do his work as usual when, to his intense surprise, he discovered that during the night about six acres of land had been plowed. On another occasion he found that at the close of a day's harrowing he had accomplished more in a few hours than he had usually been able to do in two or three days. Nor was this all. The day following this sec-

ond circumstance he discovered, on going out to the field to spread some plaster, that the work had already been done. He inquired of his sister, who lived near the field, whether she had noticed anyone working there the day before. She replied that she had seen three men at work, but that, supposing he had employed them, she had said nothing about it, though she had observed that they labored with unusual skill and rapidity. These things, of course, hastened the journey, and furnished the Whitmer family evidence that something of extraordinary importance attached to their efforts to aid the Prophet Joseph. So David took his team and wagon and made the journey.

Upon nearing the village of Harmony, David was met by Joseph and Oliver. "Joseph told me," said Oliver afterwards to David, "when you started from home, where you stopped the first night, how you read the sign at the tavern, where you stopped the second night; that you would be here today before dinner; and this is why we came out to meet you." All of which, David declared, was exactly as the Prophet had said. Moreover, he tells us that while he, the Prophet, and Cowdery were on their way to Fayette a pleasant-looking old gentleman suddenly appeared by the side of the wagon. He had a kind of knapsack on his back, with something in it shaped like a book. Saluting them, he remarked that it was very warm, at the same time wiping the perspiration from his forehead. When asked if he would ride with them, he replied "No; I am going to Cumorah." David had never before heard this name. Suddenly the stranger disappeared. He is described as being about five feet eight or nine inches tall, rather heavy, having a large face, white hair and beard, and dressed in a suit of brown woolen clothes. It was the messenger with the plates, which he had taken from Joseph just prior to his starting for New York.

The Book of Mormon Published.

At Fayette the plates were given back to the Prophet by Moroni, and the translation was prosecuted with great rapidity. The young men and Emma Smith were treated with the utmost kindness, not only by the Whitmer family, but also by the neighbors. Here they found many who, instead of opposing them, were eager to listen to their testimonies of the truth. When, in writing, Oliver's hand became weary, David, or John, or Peter Whitmer, Jr., or Emma would take the pen. Thus the translation went on till the work was ready for the press.

One circumstance that happened while Joseph remained at the Whitmer home ought not to be passed unnoticed. David Whitmer's mother was going to milk the cows, when she was met out near the yard by the person who had appeared to David and the rest while on their way from Harmony to Fayette. "You have been very faithful and diligent in your labors," he said to her, "but you are tired because of the increase of your toil; it is proper, therefore, that you should receive a witness that your faith may be strengthened." Thereupon he showed her the plates. "My father and mother," says David, who relates the incident, "had a large family of their own; the addition to it, therefore, of Joseph, his wife Emma, and Oliver, very greatly increased the toil and anxiety of my mother. And although she had never complained, she had sometimes felt that her labor was too much, or at least she was perhaps beginning to feel so. This circumstance, however, completely removed such feelings, and nerved her up for her increased responsibilities."

The completion of the Book of Mormon was the signal for rejoicing among those who had been interested in the translation. It had been a long and toilsome labor, though not without blessings which abundantly compensated for the difficulty of the task. And now that it was finished, a heavy load was

taken from the shoulders of the Prophet and his companion. Then, too, Joseph must have sustained all along a serious weight of anxiety respecting the preservation of the plates from unhallowed hands; for the angel had told him that only on the condition that he would do all in his power to preserve them, should the wisdom of the Lord be called to his aid. But now his sacred task was ended, and he could return the record to its heavenly keeper. Joseph's father and mother came to Fayette, bringing Martin Harris; and these three, with the Whitmers and Emma Smith, partook of the joy which came to Joseph and Oliver on their completion of the work assigned them by their Master.

The translation of the ancient record finished, the next thing to be done was to obtain a publisher. This was no small task, considering the inexperience of Joseph and the state of public feeling in the neighborhood concerning the probable contents of the proposed book. Joseph and Oliver finally made arrangements with a Mr. Egbert Grandin, of Palmyra, to print an edition of five thousand copies for the sum of three thousand dollars. As soon as the translation was entirely finished, which was probably in June or July, 1829, Joseph went on a visit to Harmony. But before his departure it was decided (1) that Oliver should transcribe the entire manuscript, (2) that only the copy thus made should be taken to the printer's, (3) that the person taking the copy to the printer's (usually it was Hyrum) should have a guard while carrying it, and (4) that there should be a guard about the printing house, night and day.

Yet with all these precautions for the safety of the manuscript, the Book of Mormon, or parts of it, came very nearly being published surreptitiously, in mutilated form, by an unscrupulous enemy of the work. A man by the name of Cole, evidently with the knowledge if not the consent of

Grandin, attempted to publish the book serially in his paper, called *The Dogberry,* but, of course, with a great many changes, and was made to desist from his unlawful and wicked purpose only by the threats of Joseph in person to claim, by legal process, the protection of the copyright law. Nor was this all. Later on, some of the inhabitants of Palmyra and the neighborhood held a meeting at which they all bound themselves not to purchase a copy of the forthcoming book. The printer, frightened into the belief that the book would not be sold and that he would therefore get nothing for his work on it, suspended the printing until Joseph Smith and Martin Harris gave him renewed assurance that the amount would be paid whether or not a single copy of the book were sold. Under these conditions was the Book of Mormon published to the world.

The Nephite Record and the Manner of Translation.

Thus far in this and the preceding chapter we have been concerned only with the coming forth of the Book of Mormon and the events connected with the translation of this ancient record into the English laguage. Before leaving this part of our narrative, however, it will be interesting to know something about the plates themselves—their appearance, the language in which they were written, and the like—and also to ascertain as nearly as may be how this translation was accomplished.

The plates from which the Book of Mormon comes were six inches in width, by eight inches in length. The leaves were about the thickness of common tin. Each was filled on both sides with engravings, the characters being small and exhibiting considerable skill and ancient workmanship. All these golden sheets were bound together in the form of a book of about six inches in thickness, by three rings running through the edges. Part of this metallic vol-

ume was sealed. The unsealed part was translated by the Prophet; but the sealed part is not to be translated until the proper time comes, which has not yet been generally revealed. The language in which this ancient record was originally written was, so far as we may now determine, reformed Egyptian, each line running like Hebrew from right to left, instead of from left to right like English. Not counting the few instances when the book was given to the angel for safe-keeping or when it was taken from Joseph on account of his disobedience, the Prophet had these sacred plates in his possession from the twenty-second of September, 1827, till some time in the early summer of 1829, a period of about twenty-one or two months. When the translation was completed he gave the plates back to the angel Moroni, who has them in his keeping to this day, and will continue to guard them until the time when the sealed part,together with other similar Nephite records, shall be given to man.

A question has arisen as to how the Book of Mormon was translated, which, however, we should not consider of sufficient importance to notice here except for the fact that absurd explanations have been advanced, which have been made the ground-work of apparently unanswerable objections to the divine origin of this record. Did the English translation appear with the Nephite characters, or was Joseph enabled, by inspiration, to read the language of the plates, get the idea intended, and then express that idea in such language as he had at his command? Was the Prophet, in other words, a mere automaton, or was he compelled to make the highest intellectual and spiritual effort of which he was capable? No doubt, we shall not be able at this date to obtain a complete, probably not a satisfactory, answer to this question; but we shall be able to obtain a good many established facts and then to draw our inferences from these. But care should be taken not to confound fact with inference.

The following points we may set down as pretty well established. First, the language of the Book of Mormon as we have it today in the English, abounds in inaccuracies of expression. Wrong verb forms are used, for instance, reference words do not always agree with their antecedents, there are improprieties of diction, and the style is somewhat tautologus. Secondly, Joseph Smith had small scholastic education. "He could read without much difficulty, and write a very imperfect hand; and had a very limited understanding of the elementary rules of arithmetic." Thirdly, Joseph used two instruments with which to translate—the "seer stone," and the urim and thummim. Martin Harris speaks of the Prophet's employing the "seer stone," and Oliver Cowdery mentions Joseph's use of the "interpreters." Fourthly the plates were before the Prophet as he translated. Otherwise there is no significance in his remaining behind a curtain all the time, a fact which we learn directly from David Whitmer and indirectly from Martin Harris. Fifthly, it required an intellectual effort to translate. This fact we find recorded in no less important a document than a revelation of the Lord to Oliver Cowdery through the Prophet Joseph. Cowdery had desired to translate but had apparently entertained wrong notions of the process involved. For the Lord said to him: "Behold you have not understood; you have supposed that I would give it [the gift to translate] unto you, when you took no thought, save it was to ask of me; but, behold, I say unto you, that *you must study it out in your mind.*" Sixthly, there had to be an emotional purity. This fact is testified to by David Whitmer, who relates a circumstance that happened to the Prophet while he was translating at the Whitmer home in Fayette. "One morning," says David, "when he was getting ready to continue the translation something went wrong about the house and he was put out about it. Something that Emma, his wife,

had done. Oliver and I went upstairs and Joseph came up soon after to continue the translation, but he could not do anything. He could not translate a single syllable. He went down stairs, out into the orchard, and made supplication to the Lord; was gone about an hour—came back to the house, asked Emma's forgiveness, and then came upstairs where we were and then the translation went on all right. He could do nothing save he was humble and faithful."

These facts will furnish a sufficient basis from which to reason somewhat clearly concerning the manner of translation. If, as some have supposed, the English words appeared beneath the Nephite characters, Joseph becomes a mere machine, a passive instrument of interpreting the ancient writings, and there is no meaning to the statement of the revelation to Oliver Cowdery or to the circumstance mentioned by David Whitmer; and the language of the sacred record, moreover, is thus exposed to all sorts of objections, inasmuch as it does not appear why; upon this hypothesis, the Lord should not have given the record in correct English. It is inconceivable that the peculiarities in the present language of the Book of Mormon should be also the peculiarities of the Nephite language. On the whole, such an explanation as this resembles the "verbal inspiration" theory maintained by some Christian sects concerning the Hebrew Scriptures. All these facts seem to point, therefore, only to one conclusion—that the Prophet Joseph obtained the idea through inspiration by means of the "seer stone" or the urim and thummim, and expressed this in such language as he had at his command. That he viewed the characters on the plates through one of these two instruments while in the act of translating, and that it demanded a strong intellectual and spiritual effort, are evident from several indisputable facts. The plausibility of this explana-

tion is increased by the circumstances that it harmonizes facts that on any other hypothesis yet advanced are irreconcilable. The ingrammaticisms of the Book of Mormon are thus no longer chargeable to inspiration, but rather to the earthly instrument of interpretation, Joseph Smith. The style of the book is just what we might expect of a young man reared under the circumstances that surrounded the early life of the Prophet. It is only in view of this explanation that we can account for its tautology, its oft-recurring words and phrases, and its frequent errors in grammar.

Still this explanation of the manner in which the Book of Mormon was translated is at best only an inference, a theory, though as it appears to me, a plausible one. Joseph Smith, the only man who was in a position to know how it was done, has not left a word of explanation directly on this point. But we may be certain that the Book of Mormon was divinely inspired, however the translation itself was accomplished. This, after all, is the important fact. That a young man without even an adequate command of his own language was able by any means whatsoever to understand and to translate the tongue of an extinct race, a tongue which the wisest and most scholarly among men, uninspired, could not read; that a boy without anything more than the merest rudiments of an education should produce a book detailing the minutest particulars in the life of an entire nation extending over a period of a thousand years, and that, too, without a single discrepancy of date or fact perceptible to the closest scrutiny of the most hypercritical,—these things reveal sufficiently wherein lies the inspiration of the Book of Mormon. It is, then, inspiration of thought, not of language, of content, not of dress.

CHAPTER IV

THE AMERICAN BIBLE

By the Mouth of Two or Three Witnesses.

While the translation of the Book of Mormon was in progress, the Prophet learned from the record itself that when it should be made known to the Gentiles and the remnant of the House of Israel, three persons should view the plates by the "power of God." This statement was confirmed by a revelation (section 5) which Joseph received in March, 1829, and which he "applied for and obtained at the request of Martin Harris, who wished to be one of the witnesses." Subsequently David Whitmer and Oliver Cowdery earnestly solicited the privilege of becoming the other two. Upon inquiring of the Lord respecting the matter, the Prophet received a revelation (section 17) in which these three men were promised that if they exercised faith they should have a view of the plates, and also of the breast-plate, the sword of Laban, the urim and thummim, and the miraculous directors. In the course of June following, this promise was realized.

When the translation was completed, Joseph, as we have seen, sent word to his parents that the work had at last been finished. So they came to Fayette with Martin Harris. There were, therefore, at the Whitmer home, besides the family, four of the Smiths, Martin Harris and Oliver Cowdery. One morning, when all of these persons were present, Joseph, after the customary morning devotions consisting of singing, reading from the Scriptures, and prayer, went up to

Martin and said in a tone and manner that impressed every one present: "Martin Harris, you have got to humble yourself before God this day, that you may obtain a forgiveness of your sins. If you do, it is the will of God that you shall look upon the plates in company with Oliver Cowdery and David Whitmer." Shortly afterwards, according to Lucy Smith's account, Joseph, Oliver, David, and Martin left the house and did not return till three or four in the afternoon.

What occurred in the meantime, we learn from the narratives of the Prophet and David Whitmer. The four men repaired to a grove not far from the Whitmer house. Arrived there, they all knelt down upon the ground and prayed, each in turn, beginning with the Prophet, that the Lord would fulfill this promise to them respecting the sacred plates. Twice they prayed thus, but without receiving an answer. Thereupon Martin, rising, suggested that it might be because of him that their prayers were not effective, and that he withdraw to a distance to pray alone. He did this, and the other three renewed their supplication. They had not been praying long when they beheld a heavenly light above and around them, in which was standing an angel of the Lord. "It was not like the light of the sun," declares David Whitmer, in speaking of this heavenly manifestation, "nor like that of fire, but more glorious and beautiful. It extended away around us, I cannot tell how far, but in the midst of this light there appeared, as it were, a table with many records or plates upon it, besides the plates of the Book of Mormon, also the sword of Laban, the directors and the interpreters." He also says that they "saw the brass plates, the plates of the Book of Ether, the plates containing the records of the wickedness and secret combinations of the people of the world down to the time of their being engraved, and many other plates." The angel held in his hands the record which the

young men desired to view, and turned over the golden leaves one by one that they might see distinctly the engravings thereon. Addressing David, the heavenly messenger very significantly said, "Blessed is the Lord and he that keeps his commandments." Then they heard a voice from above them, saying: "These plates have been revealed by the power of God. The translation of them which you have seen is correct, and I command you to bear record of all you now see and hear." And the vision closed. Joseph then left David and Oliver to look for Martin, whom he soon found a short distance away vainly supplicating the Lord. At Harris's request, the Prophet joined him in prayer, whereupon the vision was repeated. The skeptical Martin was overcome with transports of joy, and he cried out in his ecstasy, " 'Tis enough! Mine eyes have beheld! mine eyes have beheld!"

Lucy Smith's narrative says that Joseph, on coming into the house after this heavenly manifestation, "exclaimed 'Father, mother, you do not know how happy I am. The Lord has now caused the plates to be shown to three more besides myself. They have seen the angel, who has testified to them, and they will have to bear witness to the truth of what I have said. For now they know for themselves, that I did not go about to deceive the people. I feel as if I were relieved of a burden which was almost too heavy for me to bear; and it rejoices my soul that I am no longer to be entirely alone in the world.' Upon this, Martin Harris came in. He seemed almost overcome with joy, and testified boldly to what he had both seen and heard. And so did David and Oliver, adding that no tongue could express the joy of their hearts, and the greatness of the things which they had both seen and heard!"

Drawing up the following document, they signed it with their own hands and published it to the world with the Book of Mormon. It is necessary, however, to a proper under-

standing of one phrase in it, to know that whereas the testimony of the witnesses is now published on the fly-leaf of the Book of Mormon, it originally appeared at the close of the volume.

"Be it known unto all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people unto whom this work shall come, that we, through the grace of God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ, have seen the plates which contain this record, which is a record of the people of Nephi, and also of the Lamanites, their brethren, and also of the people of Jared, who came from the tower of which hath been spoken; and we also know that they have been translated by the gift and power of God, for his voice hath declared it unto us; wherefore we know of a surety that the work is true. And we also testify that we have seen the engravings which are upon the plates; and they have been shewn unto us by the power of God and not of man. And we declare with words of soberness, that an angel of God came down from heaven, and he brought and laid before our eyes, that we beheld and saw the plates, and the engravings thereon; and we know that it is by the grace of God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, that we beheld and bear record that these things are true; and it is marvellous in our eyes, nevertheless the voice of the Lord commanded us that we should bear record; wherefore, to be obedient unto the commandments of God, we bear testimony of these things. And we know that if we are faithful in Christ, we shall rid our garments of the blood of all men, and be found spotless before the judgment-seat of Christ, and shall dwell with him eternally in the heavens. And the honour be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, which is one God. Amen.

OLIVER COWDERY,
DAVID WHITMER,
MARTIN HARRIS."

The Book of Mormon declares also that "a few others" besides the three special witnesses should see the plates. There is no mention, however, of "the power of God" in connection with the statement, as there is with the announcement concerning the three; and one is led to infer that there was to be a difference between the two sets of testimony. Not long after the plates were shown to the three witnesses under the conditions we have described, they were also shown to eight others. The Prophet, with four of the Whitmers and Hyrum Page, was on his way to Manchester to look after the printing of the Book of Mormon, when, near the Smith residence, he was joined by his father and his brothers, Hyrum and Samuel. They all repaired to the place where the Smiths had been accustomed to pay their secret devotions to God; and here the Prophet showed these eight men the plates from which he had translated the book. The following testimony, drawn up shortly afterwards and signed by the witnesses, they published with the other testimony in the Book of Mormon. It is as follows:

"Be it known unto all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people unto whom this work shall come, that Joseph Smith, Jun., the translator of this work has shewn unto us the plates of which hath been spoken, which have the appearance of gold; and as many of the leaves as the said Smith has translated, we did handle with our hands; and we also saw the engravings thereon all of which has the appearance of ancient work and of curious workmanship. And this we bear record with words of soberness that the said Smith has shewn unto us for we have seen and hefted and know of a surety that the said Smith has got the plates of which we have spoken. And we give our names unto the world to witness unto the world that which we have seen; and we lie not God bearing witness of it.

Christian Whitmer,	Hiram Page,
Jacob Whitmer,	Joseph Smith, Sen.,
Peter Whitmer, Jun.,	Hyrum Smith,
John Whitmer,	Samuel H. Smith."

Grounds of Belief in these Testimonies.

Such, according to the records of the Church, is the testimony of the three and of the eight witnesses of the divine origin of the Book of Mormon. And here we should let the matter rest were it not for the fact that the words of these men have so often been disputed, and their characters assailed. We shall, therefore, examine what they say on the subject with a view to ascertaining its probability, first, the testimony of the three and afterwards that of the eight.

One thing is certain, and that is, that they always spoke and acted as if they themselves had not the slightest doubt of the reality of the vision. Not one of them seems to have had any predisposition to be visionary, but at least one, Martin Harris, was inclined to be skeptical respecting the supernatural. All three left the Church, Cowdery and Whitmer having been excommunicated, Harris having merely drifted away. And it is singular that the two that were cut off from the Church were charged, not with denying any fundamental doctrine of "Mormonism," but chiefly with rebellion against the authority of the very man who had been instrumental in obtaining them the vision of the Nephite plates. Oliver Cowdery died in 1850, David Whitmer in 1888, and Martin Harris in 1875. The latter two, therefore, lived to an advanced age. And yet not one of these men on any occasion, in word or deed, intimated that he entertained any doubt whatever of the truth of the vision he claimed to have received. The last words of each, at a time when, of all times, truth is expected to sit upon the lips, were a reiteration of his testimony respecting the divine authenticity of the Book of Mormon.

Were these men deceived, did they enter into a collusion with Joseph Smith to deceive the world, or was their testimony true?

In the first place, there is nothing improbable in the

claim that they received a vision. Moses saw God face to face. Angels visited Abraham, Lot, Jacob, and scores of others. John the Baptist heard the voice of the Lord speaking from above at the time when Jesus was baptized. It is true that visions have not been received for hundreds of years, but there is nothing in the Scritptures to forbid them in our day, or to imply that man should not receive them after Bible times. On the other hand, the probability of the latter-day vision is established by several passages of Scripture. Joel, in an access of prophetic inspiration, declared that, in the last days, "your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions." The Revelator speaks of an angel "flying in the midst of heaven" in the hour of God's judgment with a message to man on the earth. Many other passages might be quoted to the same effect. Nor is there anything improbable in the circumstances of their seeing golden plates bearing thereon the history of the ancient Americans. It is not unlikely that this continent was inhabited at the time which this vision requires. Indeed, the presence of people here when America was discovered by Europeans, goes to show that the continent was inhabited at a remote period in the past; and hence there is nothing improbable in the claim that the Lord revealed himself to the people, that they wrote their history on metallic plates, and that these plates should be given to some prophet in our day. God, said the ancient apostle, "hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth;" and Jesus declared to the Jews of his day, "Other sheep I have which are not of this fold; them also must I visit that there shall be one shepherd and one fold." Hence the vision, as such, is not improbable.

In the next place, the conditions under which the vision was received were such as to preclude the probability that

the witnesses were deceived. In the testimony attached to the Book of Mormon, all three declare (1) that they saw an angel, the plates, and the writings thereon and (2) that they heard the voice of the Lord speaking from above announcing the correctness of the translation and commanding them to testify to all the world concerning what they then heard and saw; and Oliver Cowdery is known to have declared during his life, that he had "handled the plates with his hands." Here, then, is no room for illusion, unless all the supernatural manifestations recorded in the Bible were also illusions. These men had the evidence, of sight and of hearing, and at least one of them, and probably all three, had the evidence also of touch. Could any revelation from God be more nearly perfect?

Third, the circumstances in the relationship between these three witnesses and Joseph Smith forbid us to believe that there was a collusion in the matter of their testimony. On the hypothesis of a collusion, the relation of these four men to one another would have been very different from what it was. Had they entered into an agreement to swear to a falsehood, there would have been during their whole lives a bond of close attachment that nothing could break. There would have been no rebukes for sin from the leader, no excommunication for transgression. Fear that the secret would be revealed would have restrained Joseph Smith from any unfriendly actions towards the others. It would have been a constant finger-to-the-lip association. But this was not the relation that these four men sustained towards one another. The head of the Church was too free from such restraints to do any crooking of the pregnant hinges of the knee, that faith might follow fawning. Hence, when these three witnesses disowned his authority as a prophet of God, and were found in transgression, he was as quick to excommunicate them as he would have been in the case

of the humblest member. By this act of severing them from the Church, the Prophet substantially invited them, to deny their testimony if they dared. And had there been any secret compact, what a fine opportunity there was for them to get revenge! But they did not deny their testimony; instead, they constantly affirmed its truth.

Then, again, no possible motive can be attributed to these men for continuing to reiterate their testimony under these conditions, other than that arising from truth. On the contrary, there was every inducement during their lives, both while they were in the Church and after they left it, to confess their deception, if it were a deception. As has often been pointed out, every motive for which men act was lacking in their case, on the supposition that they were engaged in a religious fraud. There were no honors for them, there was nothing to gratify an ambition for place or power. The sect was small and violently hated and opposed wherever it was heard of. There was no wealth to reward cupidity. The "Mormons" were a people stripped and peeled. If these men had any property to begin with they were likely to have it taken from them at any moment in the persecutions and drivings that befell the society prior to 1838. Then, too, any motive finding its roots in pecuniary gain cannot be attributed to Martin Harris on other grounds; for he sold his farm to pay for the printing of the Book of Mormon, and though he was afterwards reimbursed for this sacrifice, still it was at the time a total loss and the chances were against his ever getting back any money. It is not at all probable that men would have acted as these witnesses did with the ordinary motives of human conduct entirely absent, unless we conceive them to have been, in the language of orthodox Christians, "totally depraved;" and this hypothesis would receive ample contradiction in the lives of the men in other respects.

Besides, the temptation to reveal the secret, if there were one, would be too great for ordinary human beings, under these circumstances, to resist. While these men remained in the Church, poverty and persecution would be their inevitable portion, and a bad reputation among their neighbors, the Gentiles. Knowing, as they must have known, that their testimony and their association with the "Mormons" were the occasion of all the ill-will they endured, the inducement to deny their testimony, if false, would have been overwhelming. And after they left the Church, this inducement, on the hypothesis always of the fraudulent character of their testimony, would have increased tenfold. They had broken friendship with the Prophet ,and he had, in their opinion, done them wrong. The natural tendency would have been in the direction of revenge. That they would have sought and obtained it, if they had entered into collusion with Joseph Smith, is highly probable from the spirit both Oliver Cowdery and David Whitmer manifested when the charges of apostasy were lodged against them. In addition to all this there would be the trying circumstances of constantly testifying, to men who besought them for information concerning their early connection with "Mormonism," that the Book of Mormon was true; whereas they were no longer connected with the Church or the people that had brought it forth. That this was singularly trying to their sensibility is evident from what has come down to us respecting this severe ordeal. A young man once visited David Whitmer for the purpose of hearing from his own lips his testimony, and naturally enough, exhibited a desire to ask questions in relation to details connected with the vision. The aged David, with a look which the elder has never forgotten, turned upon him and exclaimed: "Young man, you seem to think it an honor to be one of the witnesses to the Book of Mormon; but I tell

you it is not, it is a burden!" And such it must indeed have been. But under all these circumstances when, if their testimony was false, they would surely have denied it, we find them as firm in declaring its truth as they were under other conditions. The only possible motive that we can attribute to them, in the premises, is that growing out of their native integrity. They did receive a vision; and they dared not deny it. And, what is more, their conduct is perfectly conceivable on the hypothesis that they were honest men telling the truth.

But there is a certain class of persons—chiefly those who are engaged in the investigation of the material phenomena of the universe—to whom this testimony of the three witnesses counts for nothing. "The miraculous," they declare in the language of Hume, "is the impossible." There is no such thing as a vision or a revelation of the divine; there is no supernatural in a religious sense. And this statement applies equally to the miraculous in the Bible. This objection comes mainly from the non-religious. And the class is a very large and intelligent one. These altogether refuse to listen to any one who claims to have received a vision, on the grounds that this very fact disqualifies him from giving rational testimony. And so we have an appeal to the evidence furnished by the eight witnesses. The testimony of this second group of witnesses has been suffered by the Saints to fall into undeserved neglect, as if it were less convincing than the other. And by a certain kind of "historians" it is flippantly dismissed with the statement that "the first four signers were members of the Whitmer family; Hiram Page was a root-doctor by calling, and a son-in-law of Peter Whitmer, Sr.; and the three Smiths were the Prophet's father and his two brothers!" This testimony may be less convincing to some people, namely, those who believe in the Bible; but to another class it is more convinc-

ing—it is merely a matter of whether reason or the Scriptures be accepted as the standard of judgment. There was certainly no mistake in giving the two kinds of testimony; each is the complement of the other, and both together form a witness for the divine origin of the Book of Mormon, to overturn which requires more than an exclamation point or an elevation of the eyebrows.

It is well to notice the difference between the conditions under which this testimony was given and those under which the other was received. The first was accompanied by the power of God,—something that was totally absent in the second, which was, on the contrary, a plain matter-of-fact exhibition of the plates by the Prophet to these eight men. Those who reject the testimony of the three witnesses would do so, as already remarked, on the ground that the men were not in their natural state of mind. They were wrought up, such persons would say, to a state where they might be acted upon by a hypnotic influence, where the imagination would be the most active faculty. Hence, according to this class, they would not on this account be competent witnesses. But here, in this second testimony, is an instance where the supernatural was entirely absent. There was no divine light, there was no angel, there was no voice from above. Nine men had met under the most ordinary human conditions, and one of them had handed out for the inspection of the others, a set of plates. Those eight men declare that they "hefted" the plates and inspected the writing thereon, which bore traces of having been engraved by a skilful hand in an ancient age.

Now these men, like the others, were either deceived, or they were deceivers, or their testimony is true. The "explanation" has been offered by non-"Mormons" that perhaps Joseph had some plates, which after having been made to bear the appearance of age and skill, he exhibited to the men.

But this theory is too improbable in view of the youth and lack of general, let alone technical, information on the part of the Prophet. Besides, it is not in harmony with what is known of the character of Joseph both before and after this time; for candor, openness, was his chief characteristic. A second explanation is equally untenable. It is that the testimony was a pure fabrication. This is made improbable by the fact that subsequently three out of the eight—Jacob Whitmer, John Whitmer, and Hiram Page—left the Church, and still continued to maintain that their testimony was true. The only tenable position, therefore, is that they did see the plates from which the Book of Mormon was translated. And this harmonizes all the facts in the case with what we know of their character.

What the Book of Mormon Is.

This remarkable book gives an account of the ancient inhabitants of America from about twenty-two hundred years before Christ to the close of the fourth century A. D. It is partly historical, partly doctrinal, partly prophetical, and was written and preserved to inform the "remnant of the house of Israel"—the Lamanites—concerning their origin, to bring both them and the Gentile nations to a knowledge of the true God and his dealings with his children on this western hemisphere in former times, and also to corroborate the Hebrew Scriptures as a witness for God and a future life. It reveals the existence of two distinct races, of which we shall speak separately.

First in order of time, though not in order of importance in the Nephite record, is the Jaredite nation, named from Jared, one of its first leaders. More than two thousand years before the Christian era, a colony of a few families left Chaldea and, under divine guidance, crossed the ocean in eight barges and landed in America. Here this col-

ony, in the course of fourteen or fifteen centuries, grew into a numerous and powerful race, occupying Central and North America, and becoming highly civilized. The chief occupations among them were agriculture, building, and manufacturing, which arts they brought to a considerable degree of perfection. The ruins of this ancient people are a strong attestation of their skill in architecture and of their general civilization. They continued as a nation till about six hundred years before Christ, when, in consequence of intestine strife and rebellion against the law of God given them through prophets, their national life was brought to a violent termination. The swift narrative of this mighty and extensive empire forms one of the most striking literary features of the Book of Mormon.

While the Jaredites were fighting their last battles, another colony—this time a small band of Israelites from Jerusalem, in Palestine—landed in South America, led, as the other had been, by the divine hand. In a few years after their arrival in their "Promised Land," the company divided in two parts. Each took the name of its leader; hence one was called Nephites, after Nephi, the other was named Lamanites, from Laman. The latter, in consequence of wickedness, were cursed with "a skin of darkness," becoming wild and uncivilized; while the former retained their natural color and kept on progressing. The Lamanites are the real ancestors of our American Indians, and this accounts for their color. The Nephites, about four hundred years after they left Jerusalem, were joined by the Mulekites, a people who also came from the Holy Land, but eleven years later than Lehi's colony. The Nephites and Lamanites lived on as two distinct nations, occupying two separate parts of the country, with frequent and sometimes long periods of destructive war between them, till more than four hundred

years after Christ, when the white population was entirely destroyed by the more powerful Lamanites.

The Nephites had in their possession a copy of the Jewish Scriptures down to, and including some of the prophecies of, Jeremiah, which the colony had brought with them from Jerusalem; and this circumstance accounts for the frequent quotations in the Book of Mormon from the Bible. Of all their doings—their prosperity, religion, society, government, and battles with the Lamanites—these people kept a detailed account upon metallic plates. Two sets of records were in use at the same time, some on which was recorded the political history, and others on which was written their religious history. The Nephites were a civilized people. They had most of the arts and sciences that the cultivated nations of the European world could boast of at the time America was discovered, though that civilization had then, for the most part, long since disappeared. The chief occupation of the people was agriculture.

The Book of Mormon as a history covers in all more than twenty-six hundred years, and narrates the events in the lives of three separate and distinct nations—the Nephites, the Lamanites, and the Jaredites. It is not a first-hand history, by which is meant that the book, as we have it was not written by men who lived at the time of the events of which they write; but it is for the most part, an abridgment made by Mormon, a man who lived in the last period of which the book treats. This abridgment was made from narratives composed by successive historians. The only exception to this is the first one hundred and fifty-seven pages (to the "Words of Mormon"), which were written by Nephi, Jacob, Enos, Jarom, Omni, Amaron, Chemish, Abinadom, and Amaleki; and the matter in the last fifty-three pages (from p. 570 to the end), which, with the exception of a few epistles written by his father, Mormon, and

some general religious laws in vogue among the Nephites, was the work of Moroni. But the "Book of Ether," too, is an abridgment made from larger historical records among the Jaredites. Hence, the Book of Mormon, as we have it now, is the work of eleven men, of whom three—Nephi, Mormon, and Moroni—wrote all but twenty-eight pages out of a total of six hundred and twenty-three. And yet, notwithstanding this vast period of time covered by the work and the extensive and complicated threads of narrative, not a single contradiction or anachronism has been discovered by the closest and most critical investigation. Surely, such literary consistency is no small achievement for an unlearned youth of twenty-five years!

The Prophet Joseph is said to have remarked concerning the Book of Mormon that it is the most correct of any record in the world, that it is the keystone of our religion, and that a man will get nearer to God by obeying its precepts than by living in accordance with those of any other volume. By the expression "most correct" he means, of course, the most perfect in doctrine. Any one who reads this sacred work without prejudice must concede that its teachings are pure and elevated. Nothing but what is uplifting in religion may be found in the Book of Mormon, there is nothing in it that is impure or obscene. It teaches that Christ is the one standard of perfection, and encourages conscious imitation of the great Example on pain of the second death. It condemns in the strongest terms all those who do and love the wrong. These teachings were given the Nephites by the numerous prophets that arose among them and by our Savior in person, who ministered to these people after his resurrection in Palestine. If nothing else would convince the ordinary believer in the Bible that the Nephite record is a volume of sacred truth, the final appeal of Moroni, one of the Nephites who wrote it, and the person who hid it up unto the Lord,

should be sufficiently moving, if not to know of its truth, yet at least to make an attempt to know; for he says, as he wanders about in loneliness and is on the point of delivering himself up to whatever fate awaits him from his savage pursuers: "I would exhort you that ye would ask God, the eternal Father, in the name of Christ, if these things are not true; and if ye shall ask with a sincere heart, with real intent, having faith in Christ, he will manifest the truth of it unto you by the power of the Holy Ghost; and by the power of the Holy Ghost ye may know the truth of all things."

How the Book of Mormon Did Not Originate.

No sooner had the Nephite record been published to the world than it was violently, even maliciously, assailed with every weapon that could be brought to bear against it by those who refused to accept the "Mormon" explanation of its origin. Here at any rate was the book. If Joseph did not write it, either with or without divine assistance, who did? It did not write itself. So men began cudgeling their brains for a satisfactory account of the volume.

Mr. John Fiske, with a flippancy that lays him open to the grave suspicion of never having read the volume he endeavors to account for, or studied the conditions under which it was brought forth, declares in his *Discovery of America,* that any ignorant man familiar with the language of the Bible could have written the Book of Mormon. Now, against this gratuitous assertion of the learned historian we may at least set the findings of those non-"Mormon" writers who have seriously thought upon their subject, and the list would include names equally honorable with that of Mr. Fiske. For the concensus of opinion respecting this point is, that no "ignorant man," however "familiar with the language of the Bible," could have written the book; else unbelievers would not have turned the world upside down in their search for a person of superior ability to Joseph Smith

to whom could be ascribed the credit of writing it. Mr. Fiske has therefore greatly underestimated the difficulties encountered by the uneducated in literary composition, especially in view of the undeniable fact that the Book of Mormon, on the hypothesis of its being a modern work, presupposes in its author a keen attention to consistency of detail and a mind capable of sustained imagination. Without entering any further into particulars regarding this "explanation," we may dismiss the theory with the foregoing brief statement, and pass to a consideration of another, which is more commonly met with in the mouths of those who do not believe in the Book of Mormon—namely the Spaulding story.

It was in 1834. The Church had been organized at Fayette, Seneca county, New York, and had been removed thence to Kirtland and vicinity, in Ohio. In this place, a man named D. P. Hurlburt joined its ranks. Anti-"Mormon" writers have been in the habit of dubbing him "Dr. Philastus Hurlburt," so as to lend dignity to this explanation; but the man was never a "doctor" of law or medicine or divinity or of anything else; he had been given this first name "Doctor" because he was the seventh son, and, according to the belief of a certain class at the time, was expected to become a physician. He had been a Methodist, but had been expelled from that denomination for immoral conduct. Soon after his conversion to "Mormonism" he was ordained to the priesthood and sent on a mission to Pennsylvania; but falling into disrepute there, he was recalled. Tried before the brethren at Kirtland for conduct unbecoming a Latter-day Saint, he was found guilty, and threatened with excommunication if he did not repent and improve his life. He manifested signs of penitence, and was forgiven. But he declared afterwards—and he may be believed, for the thing is in strict accord with the rest of his conduct—that he had

only shammed repentance in order to ascertain whether he could deceive the Prophet Joseph. He again fell into sin, for which, in June, 1833, he was cut off from the Church. His disappointed ambition sought revenge. Collecting together the enemies of the Saints in and about Kirtland, he incited them to deeds of violence against the Prophet and the Saints generally. In April, 1834, he was arrested and tried for threatening Joseph's life and compelled by the court to "enter into a new recognizance, with good and sufficient security, in the sum of two hundred dollars, hereafter to keep the peace and be of good behavior to the citizens of the State of Ohio generally, and to the said Joseph Smith, Junior, in particular for the period of six months."

Now it happened that while doing missionary work in Pennsylvania, part of which, of course, consisted in preaching the Book of Mormon, he heard of a Mr. Solomon Spaulding and a certain manuscript which he had written and which, it was said, resembled the Nephite Record. Hurlburt, however, his mind occupied with other matters, paid no attention at the time to either the man or his story. But revenge against his one-time religious friends now whetted his curiosity in both. So he went post-haste to his old field of labor, his interest keenly alive to any scrap of information he might brush up concerning the alleged similarities between the Manuscript and the "Mormon Bible."

Naturally enough, his eagerness was rewarded by a wealth of important "facts." He learned that, in 1812, there had lived at Conneaut, Ohio, a man by the name of Solomon Spaulding. This man had received, it was asserted, a "good education," having been graduated from Dartmouth College in 1785. For some time after his graduation he had held a pastorate of an obscure church, but becoming dissatisfied with Christianity, he had turned infidel. While living in Ohio, he became interested in the ancient moundbuilders,

whose ruins are so numerous in that State, and conceived an ambition to write "a fanciful history of the ancient races of this country." This ambition was subsequently realized in a work which bore the attractive title *The Manuscript Story,* and which he was in the habit of reading for the delectation of his neighbors. In the same year (1812) he removed with his family to Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, for the purpose, it appears, of getting his work published. Here he fell in with a printer named Patterson, to whom he submitted the manuscript. Mr. Patterson, it was claimed, returned it to Mr. Spaulding with the advice to "polish it up." After two years' residence at Pittsburg the family moved to Amity, in the same State, where the author died in 1816. This manuscript story, Hurlburt was assured, resembled very closely the contents of the Book of Mormon—so closely, in fact, that the old neighbors of Mr. Spaulding were struck with the similarities as soon as they heard the latter read by the "Mormon" elders, though it had been eighteen or twenty years since they had been amused by the "romance." Like the Book of Mormon, they told him, it was written in "Bible style." The expression, "and it came to pass," occurred so often that some of the neighbors used to call the author "Old Come-to-pass." Nay, they further affirmed, the proper names were identical with those in the "Mormon Bible." They distinctly remembered the names "Nephi," "Lehi," and "Moroni."

But where was the *Story?* and how was Hurlburt to get it? Spaulding's widow, by this time Mrs. Davidson, was living in Massachusetts; no doubt she would have it. To her, therefore, he wrote. She replied that it was now in a small trunk which had belonged to her husband, and which was at her uncle's in Pennsylvania. But Mr. Hurlburt might have it, provided he would return it and give her,

when it was published, one-half the proceeds. Hurlburt promised, and she let him take the manuscript.

Acting on the hints he had received during his absence from Ohio, he returned to the neighborhood of Kirtland bearing Mr. Spaulding's *Story* and also weighty thoughts concerning the Book of Mormon, the latter of which he intended to elaborate into a volume. He lacked means, however, to publish it. So he revealed enough of his theory in public lectures to induce his friends to contribute several hundred dollars towards the enterprise. In due time, the book appeared, bearing the sensational title, *Mormonism Unveiled,* by E. D. Howe, in which the Book of Mormon was declared to have originated in the Spaulding *Manuscript Story.*

The substance of this Howe-Hurlburt explanation is as follows: While Spaulding was at Pittsburg, there lived at this place a young man named Sidney Rigdon, who worked for Mr. Patterson in the printing office. Young Rigdon, always on the look-out, it seems, for future greatness, and having an opportunity and plenty of time while the manuscript lay on the shelf of the printing house, copied it word for word, and stowed away his copy till a propitious moment should arrive when he might make something out of it. In course of time he drifted into the ministry—we are using the language of non-"Mormon" writers—wandering around from one denomination to another, but meantime revolving in his mind his literary project, and working at odd moments upon a new version of the *Story.* When his work was completed, which differed from that of Spaulding chiefly in that he had injected into it a strong vein of theology, he named it the Book of Mormon, and gave it to Joseph Smith, with instructions to say that it had been revealed to him by an angel. Such, in brief, is the theory advanced in *Mormonism Unveiled* to account for the Nephite record.

This Howe-Hurlburt explanation of the origin of the "Mormon Bible" was instantly accepted by those who refused to listen to Joseph Smith's. And wherever the Latter-day Saint elders went they were confronted with the bald assertion: "Joseph Smith did not write the book, Sidney Rigdon wrote it from the Spaulding manuscript!" This theory, to paraphrase what has been asserted of Hume's "the-miraculous-in-the-impossible" idea, has always served as a sort of Aladdin's lamp with those who lack the time, the brains, or the inclination to look into the story for themselves. Rub this wonderful lamp, and all the hitherto mysterious avenues of knowledge respecting the origin of the work, open up, and the nefarious conduct of Joseph Smith and his colleagues in the matter springs up like a vision. A catch phrase was needed, which, on lips of the ignorant, would have identically the same effect as on the lips of the learned, and at the same time require no exertion on the part of either in the way of study or reflection. It was invented by Howe and Hurlburt. It has a talismanic effect when uttered with a sober countenance and grave accents. Men who are utterly incapable of following a train of thought for ten minutes at a time bandy this explanation about among their friends when a really intelligent investigator suggests how difficult it is to arrive at a conclusion respecting the origin of the Book of Mormon. I venture the assertion that no man can honestly examine this theory and then conscientiously advance it as a satisfactory explanation of the Nephite record.

In support of this hypothesis concerning the origin of the Book of Mormon not a scintilla of real evidence has ever been adduced, either in this original statement by Howe-Hurlburt or in the hundred-and-one revampings of it by later exponents. It is true that there has been published a "terrifying" array of affidavits by old persons who soberly

avow that, in their early youth, they heard Solomon Spaulding read parts of his manuscript, and that, after a lapse of from twenty to even sixty years, they have a vivid recollection of names and incidents contained in the Story. But it is over-taxing our powers of credulity to ask us to believe that so slight an incident as this could have made so striking an impression on their minds, when there was nothing in the nature of the thing itself to awaken at the time, anything more than the most commonplace interest.

There are too many weak places in the theory to entitle it to any serious consideration as an explanation of how we got the Book of Mormon.

In the first place, it has never been shown that Sidney Rigdon was at Pittsburg when Spaulding was there, that he was ever in the employ of Patterson, the printer, and that, therefore, he was ever in a position to purloin the manuscript. All statements to the contrary are mere assertion. Rigdon himself declared that he had never been at Pittsburg till 1822, eight years after Spaulding's departure from that city with his manuscript securely locked up in a trunk. But granting that Rigdon was at Patterson's printing office while Spaulding was at Pittsburg, what motive could he have had to steal the *Story?* It is highly improbable, to say the least, that Rigdon would have kept the manuscript by him from 1812 till 1830, a period of eighteen years. But even if we admit that he did all this, it has to be shown how a man of Rigdon's position and ability would steal such a miserable piece of writing as this Spaulding *Manuscript* is. In the absence, therefore, of any working motive on the part of Sidney Rigdon in this alleged conduct in relation to Spaulding's narrative, the "Mormons" may well be pardoned for refusing to credit the story.

In the next place, the advocates of this theory have never been able to explain how it was that Joseph Smith

and Sidney Rigdon got together prior to the publication of the Book of Mormon. The assertion that they did is wholly gratuitous. The testimony of every one connected with the matter is against the allegation. Joseph Smith, in his journal, records that the first meeting between him and Rigdon took place in December, 1830. Parley P. Pratt, in his *Autobiography,* gives the circumstances of his meeting with Sidney in the fall of 1830, and presenting him with a copy of the Book of Mormon, which the latter was by no means desirous of receiving. Oliver Cowdery declared that he wrote the Book of Mormon with his own hand. And, finally, Sidney Rigdon himself solemnly protested to the world that he never saw or heard of the Nephite record till it was presented to him by Parley P. Pratt in the latter part of 1830, several months after its publication. A theory, surely, has little claim to our respect which is based on the mere assumption that all these men deliberately lied.

Concerning Rigdon's testimony we may add another word, inasmuch as an anti-"Mormon" historian has recently averred that this great preacher never directly denied his connection with the origin of the Book of Mormon. In 1863 his son, John W. Rigdon, visited Utah and was so much concerned over the association which his father was commonly thought to have had with the Prophet prior to the publication of the book, that he determined, when he returned to the East, to obtain a final statement from his father. Accordingly, when the two met again, John W. said: "You have always told me one story, that you never saw the Book of Mormon until it was presented to you by Parley P. Pratt and Oliver Cowdery; that all you ever knew of the origin of that book was what they told you and what Joseph Smith and the witnesses who claimed to have seen the plates had told you. Is this true? If so, all right, if it is not, you owe it to me and to your family to tell it. You are an old man

and you will soon pass away, and I wish to know if Joseph Smith, in your intimacy with him for fourteen years, has not said something to you that led you to believe he had obtained that book in some other way than what he told you. Give me all you know about it, that I may know the truth." Sidney Rigdon looked at his son a moment, raised his hand above his head, and said slowly and emphatically, his eyes moistening with tears: "My son, I can swear before high heaven that what I have told you about the origin of that book is true. Your mother and sister, Mrs. Athalia Robinson, were present when that book was handed to me in Mentor, Ohio, and all I ever knew about the origin of the book was what Parley P. Pratt, Oliver Cowdery, Joseph Smith, and the witnesses who claimed they saw the plates have told me, and in all of my intimacy with Joseph Smith he never told me but the one story, and that was that he found it engraved upon gold plates in a hill near Palmyra, New York, and that an angel had appeared to him and directed him where to find it, and I have never to you or to any one else, told but the one story and that I now repeat to you."* "I believed him," continues Mr. John W. Rigdon, "and now believe that he told me the truth. He also said to me after that that Mormonism was true; that Joseph Smith was a Prophet, and this world would find it out some day." It is difficult to believe that Sidney Rigdon would face the stern and terrible realities of eternal world with a lie, foul and deadly, on his lips. A short time ago (in 1904) John W. Rigdon demonstrated

*At the time of Sidney Rigdon's death in July, 1876, the Friendship *Register* said that "numerous pilgrimages had been made to him from different parts by various persons desirous of obtaining further information from him relating to the origin of the Book of Mormon, but he unwaveringly adhered to his original theory on this matter, being the same as that held by the Mormons; and he treated with great scorn and contempt the statement of parties imputing the authorship of the work to himself."

his belief in his father's words by joining the Church, in New York City.

It has always been the custom of anti-"Mormon" writers to evade these weak points on the ground that "it is more important to establish the fact that a certain thing was done than to prove just *how* or *when* it was done." But since it is clear from the facts in the case that "neither time nor place did then adhere," and that our opponents are endeavoring "to make both," the precise point at issue is *how* and *when*. Such an evasion as this, is additional evidence of the weakness of the Hurlburt-Howe explanation.

A recent "historical inquiry" into "Mormonism" makes what it imagines a strong point in favor of the Spaulding theory out of the relationship which Sidney Rigdon sustained to Joseph Smith. "We shall find," it says, "that, almost from the beginning of their removal to Ohio, Smith held him in a subjection which can be explained only on the theory that Rigdon, the prominent churchman, had placed himself completely in the power of the unprincipled Smith, and that instead of exhibiting self-reliance, he accepted insult after insult until, just before Smith's death, he was practically without influence in the church." But it is extremely improbable that a man "as self-reliant and smart as Rigdon was" would have submitted with so much servility to the dictation of "an ignorant country clown." This explanation, defeats its purpose by raising a fresh barrier to our belief in the hypothesis. The thing we must believe, if we credit this theory, is, that a really learned and eloquent preacher, "with a superabundant gift of tongue and every form of utterance" at his command, would steal, without any conceivable motive, a miserable manuscript that any schoolboy would be ashamed to call his own; that an ambitious and irascible temper, so accustomed to leadership everywhere else, would cringe in abject submission to the contemptu-

ous dictates of an uncouth country boy twelve years his junior; and that this man could not, in the thirty-five years remaining of his life, though removed from the Church, recover from this personal despotism! And what motive could Sidney Rigdon have had for all this craven servility, which utterly broke his spirit, despoiled his highest hopes, and crushed his very manhood? Poverty, ignominy, persecution, and disgrace all his days! If Rigdon had been a preacher of any other sect, his eloquence and learning would have commanded a reasonable competence during his life. With any other religion he might have enjoyed a life of ease and respectability, instead of sharing with the "Mormons" the hatred and opposition of mankind. In a society such as, according to those who believe that he was the "organizing genius of Mormonism," he possessed the ability to effect, he might have been the foremost character, instead of remaining the mere dupe and tool of another, who is regarded as greatly his inferior. Then, too, if we would believe this theory, we must not call to mind the magnificent opportunity he had when the death of Joseph Smith removed the only partner of his "guilty secret!" One word of his on this occasion, granting his relationship with the Prophet to have been such as his enemies affirm, would have sounded the death-knell of "Mormonism," and would have brought him honor and praise from those who had fought against the Church. That he would have done this had he been in possession of such a secret is evident from what he did do; for he did his utmost to break up the Church, when he discovered that it was not likely to give encouragement to his ambition for leadership. Besides, a man who is capable of perpetrating such a fraud as is charged against Sidney Rigdon would scarcely have any scruples about revealing the secret when it was so clearly to his advantage to do so. At any rate, we may well be pardoned for entertaining doubts as to

this alleged wickedness on the part of Rigdon, so long as there is no explanation of his silence when the Prophet died. There is a more sensible way to account for this "servility" and "meanness of spirit" on the part of Sidney Rigdon; that, namely, which accounts for the "servility" and "meanness" of "Mormons" generally: Truth took hold of his heart, plain, Bible truth, and he "feared" to lose his soul by utterly renouncing it.

The Spaulding Manuscript Recovered.

Such in general were the arguments with which the Saints met the bald assertions of their opponents. But of recent years this absurd theory has had new light thrown upon it by the recovery of the original *Manuscript Story* of Solomon Spaulding.

When this Spaulding origin of the Nephite Record was first invented, the Saints, of course, demanded that the manuscript be produced as proof that there was sufficient resemblance between it and the Book of Mormon to warrant the conclusion that the one originated in the other. Or, if this were not done, that there be exhibited at least quotations from it. But it was asserted that the *Manuscript* had been destroyed in a fire that occurred in the printing establishment owned by E. D. Howe, the author of *Mormonism Unveiled!* For Hurlburt had neither published the work nor returned it to its owner, Mrs. Davidson, though she had repeatedly requested him to send it back according to his agreement. And so the matter rested until a few years ago.

In 1884, the late President James H. Fairchild, of Oberlin College, Ohio, was on a visit to Honolulu, and was staying with his old friend Mr. L. L. Rice who had purchased the printing establishment of Howe, the author and publisher of *Mormonism Unveiled*. Mr. Rice and Mr. Fairchild were looking over the numerous old documents which

the former had in his possession, to see if there was anything valuable pertaining to the Civil War, when they came upon the *Manuscript Story* of Mr. Spaulding. Having heard of the alleged connection between this narrative and the Book of Mormon, their curiosity was naturally aroused concerning this old manuscript, and they sat down and carefully compared the two works. The result of their examination may be learned from Mr. Fairchild's published statement: "The theory of the origin of the Book of Mormon in the traditional manuscript of Solomon Spaulding will probably have to be relinquished. . . . . Some other explanation of the Book of Mormon must be found, if any explanation is required." Two years later, the *Manuscript Story* was published, nearly half a century after it was said to have been destroyed.

The contents of this notorious work are as follows: Some time during the reign of Constantine, in Rome, a certain Fabius embarks for Britain with an important message for the Islanders. Near the British coast, however, the ship encounters a storm, is driven about aimlessly by the raging elements, and, finally, in fulfillment of a prediction by some one on board, aproaches the coast of America. Upon landing, the Romans are welcomed by the "Deliwares," a tribe of Indians, among whom they decide to make a home. Now, it happened that they had on board their vessel seven young women, three of whom were "ladies of rank" and the rest "healthy bucksome Lasses." Desiring to make the best of their lot, it was decided, since there were more men than women, that these latter should choose husbands; which they did, leaving the rest of the men to live in single blessedness or select dusky helpmates. After a residence of about two years among the "Deliwares," they move westward several days' journey to a tribe called the

"Ohons." These natives, by reason of the labors of a wise man named Lobaska, are more civilized and refined than the tribe they have left. In this part of the country, there exist two great empires, one on the south side of the Ohio, called Kentuck, the other on the north side, bearing the name Sciota. Here follows a description of the natives, their habits, laws, government, and religion. Upon this background which occupies the first fifty-five pages—nearly half the book—there is constructed a slender love story. Elseon, a prince of the Kentucks, pays a visit to the court of Sciota, where he falls in love with Lamesa, daughter of the Sciotan emperor. A law of both nations forbids the marriage of these two, but they nevertheless determine to wed; so they elope to the empire of the Kentucks, where there prevails a more liberal construction of the law, and they are joined in matrimony. War therefore breaks out between these two peoples, in which thousands are slain on both sides, and in which victory perches on the banner of the Kentucks. At this point the narrative suddenly breaks off, evidently unfinished.

The work in published form contains about one-tenth as much reading matter as the Book of Mormon. It is wretchedly composed; it is filled with dashes, indicating broken sentences; only in the latter half, which is by far the best written, are there any traces of imagination, and even then there is a frequent falling from the sublime to the ludicrous; there are occasional passages containing obscene suggestions; and the task of reading it is intolerably tedious. The manuscript, as we have it, answers perfectly to the description given it by Mr. Patterson in his advice to the author "to polish it up;" for certainly one can hardly conceive a literary work more painfully in need of polishing.

While, it must be admitted, there are some general re-

semblances between this work and the Book of Mormon, both in content and in external details, still, candor and honesty will force from the bitterest anti-"Mormon" of reasonable veracity the admission that the differences between the two works are so great as forever to preclude the possibility of any connection between them. Both the *Manuscript Story* and the Nephite Record claim to be translations; but the former is a translation of a Latin parchment found in an Ohio mound, the latter is a translation of golden plates written in what is known as reformed Egyptian. Mormon's abridgment was revealed through the instrumentality of an angel and translated by direct inspiration; the *Story* of Fabius is a "romance" discovered by the merest accident, the fiction of discovery being merely a cheap literary device to increase its sale. The one is a record of Hebrew colonies led hither by the divine hand, while the other is an account of a Roman company driven to America by the mishap of adverse winds. The *Manuscript Story* assumes the existence of the tribes of Indians on this continent at the time when the Romans landed here; the Book of Mormon gives the origin of the red man in the western hemisphere. Spaulding's narrative, if it arouse interest at all, will do so entirely by reason of a slender element of love, the religious being wholly absent except where the creeds and ceremonies of the heathen natives are described; Mormon's history, on the contrary, is wanting in the love-element and depends mainly upon the religious, which colors almost every sentence.

CHAPTER V

FROM OUT THE WILDERNESS

When the Prophet Joseph was told in the first vision that the "Christian" world had long since departed from the truth, he was, in all pobability, also informed that if he proved faithful he should be the instrument in the hands of God in establishing the true Church on the earth. All the visions which the youthful seer had received, and even the translation of the Nephite Scriptures, were but preparatory to the organization of the Church. It were a small matter, after all, that the world should know of their apostate condition, that the Book of Mormon contained the "fulness of the everlasting gospel," that communication between heaven and earth was again a fact; there must be the true Church of Christ for them to join in order for salvation to be secured. And so the next step necessary to the progress of this great work was the effecting of a Church organization.

Restoration of the Priesthood.

But in order to do this it was necessary that the true priesthood be restored. The purpose of the first vision was, in part, to inform Joseph and the world that the true Church was not on the earth, and therefore, that men did not have the necessary authority to administer in the ordinances of the gospel. The object of the revelations of Moroni was to disclose the ancient nations of America to the modern world, and to authorize and bring about the translation of the records of those peoples. In none of these numerous and important revelations was the holy priesthood restored to

men. It required, therefore, a new dispensation of the divine goodness before such an important responsibility could be assumed by the Prophet.

Two distinct orders of priesthood were revealed to Joseph at different times. The Aaronic was conferred by John the Baptist; and the Melchisedek by the ancient apostles, Peter, James, and John.

The restoration of the Aaronic priesthood occurred in May, 1829 while Joseph and Oliver were translating the Book of Mormon. The occasion was their reading in the Nephite Record of baptism for the remission of sin. Not understanding the passage the young men went into the woods to pray about it. While thus engaged, they were visited by a heavenly messenger, who stood before them enveloped in a cloud of light. Placing his hands upon the heads of the young men, he ordained them to the Aaronic priesthood, saying: "Upon you, my fellow servants, in the name of Messiah, I confer the priesthood of Aaron which holds the keys of the ministering of angels and of the gospel of repentance, and of baptism by immersion for the remission of sins; and this shall never be taken from the earth, until the sons of Levi do offer again an offering unto the Lord in righteousness." The messenger was John the Baptist; and he explained to the young men that he acted under the direction of the apostles Peter, James, and John, who, he added, would in due time bestow upon them the higher or Melchisedek priesthood. This Aaronic priesthood, the angel said, had not the power of laying on hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost, which authority should be conferred on them later.

The heavenly messenger gave them instructions as to what they were to do after his departure. They were to baptize and afterwards to ordain each other. This they did precisely as the angel had commanded, Joseph baptizing and

ordaining Oliver first. The Prophet's record of this event goes on to say that upon coming out of the water, each in turn was filled with the Holy Ghost and prophesied many things that should shortly come to pass and that pertained to the rise of the Church.

Of this really dramatic event the Prophet makes no comment whatever; he is satisfied with merely noting the facts. Nevertheless, it must have created in him feelings of the greatest awe and impressiveness. But Oliver's exuberant feelings in later years over-flowed into expressions of the wildest raptures of delight, which showed that the very memory of this divine manifestation thrilled his soul with heavenly ecstasy. "What joy!" he exclaims, "what wonder! what amazement! While the world was racked and distracted—while millions were groping as the blind for the wall, and while all men were resting upon uncertainty, as a general mass, our eyes beheld—our ears heard. As in the blaze of day; yes, more—above the glitter of the May sunbeam, which then shed its brilliancy over the face of nature! Then his voice, though mild, pierced to the centre, and his words, 'I am thy fellow servant,' dispelled every fear. We listened, we gazed, we admired! 'Twas the voice of an angel from glory—'twas a message from the Most High, and as we heard we rejoiced, while his love enkindled upon our souls, and we were rapt in the vision of the Almighty . . . earth nor men, with the eloquence of time cannot begin to clothe language in as interesting and sublime a manner as this holy personage."

All this occurred at Harmony. Fearing persecution if they communicated the facts of this vision to anyone, they kept the matter entirely to themselves.

Not long after this—some time, most probably, in the latter part of this same month, between Harmony, in Pennsylvania, and Colesville, New York, on the Susquehanna

river—the promise of the angel was fulfilled and the higher priesthood was restored by the ancient apostles, Peter, James, and John. We do not know the precise date or place at which this important manifestation took place; we can obtain only an approximate time and location, and even these we have, for the most part, to get by a series of inferences from revelations to the Prophet. But however uncertain we may be regarding these comparatively unimportant matters, the fact itself remains—the power of apostleship, the Melchisedek priesthood, was conferred upon the Prophet Joseph and Oliver Cowdery under the hands of those who were ordained by Christ himself and who were among the last to hold it in ancient times.

The Church Organized.

Thus empowered from on high, Joseph still awaited the time when the Lord should instruct him to proceed further. Very early in April, 1830, he received a revelation (section 20) in which he was informed how to organize the Church.

Accordingly, on Tuesday, the sixth day of this month, Joseph and a few others who had received his work with favor met at the home of Father Peter Whitmer, at Fayette, Seneca county, and proceeded to organize the Church according to the instructions in the revelation. The meeting was opened by prayer, after which Joseph inquired of those present whether they were willing to accept himself and Oliver Cowdery "as their teachers in the things of the kingdom of God," and whether they were willing that the Church should be organized according to the commandment to do so. The result was a unanimous affirmative vote. Joseph then laid his hands upon the head of Oliver Cowdery and ordained him an elder, and Oliver, in turn, ordained Joseph to the same office. The sacrament of the Lord's supper was administered, and each of those who had been bap-

tized was confirmed by the laying on of hands for the reception of the Holy Ghost. The Spirit was manifest at the meeting in a remarkable manner; all rejoiced exceedingly that once more the true Church was on the earth; and some of those present exercised the gift of prophecy. Only six persons constituted the membership of the new organization, when it was created. Their names are: Joseph Smith, Jr., Oliver Cowdery, Hyrum Smith, Peter Whitmer, Jr., Samuel H. Smith, and David Whitmer. All of these had been baptized already, Joseph and Oliver on the day John the Baptist appeared to them; Samuel on the twenty-fifth of the same month; and the other three some time in June following; but all, it seems, were baptized again on the 6th of April, the day of the organization.

A question has arisen concerning the total number of persons who had been baptized prior to the organization of the Church. It is well known that there were only six belonging to the first organization, this number being necessary to fulfill the law of New York State at this time; but it is also known that there were others who had been baptized, but whose names are not given in this account of the organization. The number of those who had been baptized before April 6th has been variously estimated at sixteen, thirty, thirty-five, forty, and seventy-six. All these estimates, however, are too high. In the minutes of the second conference of the Church held at Fayette on the 26th of September, 1830, the membership is given at sixty-two. In the same place it is stated that out of this number thirty-five had joined since "the last conference," which was held on June 9th. This would make the membership of the Church on this last date twenty-seven. Now, according to the records of the Church, Oliver Cowdery had baptized four persons on the 6th of April; on the 11th of this month he had baptized six; and on the 18th seven more; and Newel

Knight had been baptized in the last week of May; which makes a total of eighteen who had joined the Church between April 6th and June 9th. This would leave only nine persons who had been baptized prior to the day of organization.

While the meeting was yet in session Joseph received the revelation recorded in section 21 of the Doctrine and Covenants. The Church was instructed in this revelation to keep a record, in which Joseph was to be called "a seer, a translator, a prophet, an apostle of Jesus Christ, an elder of the Church through the will of the Father and the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ." The people were admonished to "give heed unto all his words and commandments which he shall give unto you as he receiveth them, walking in all holiness before me; for his word ye shall receive, as if from mine own mouth, in all patience and faith." And they were promised that if they did this, the gates of hell should not prevail against them, and the Lord, through his Prophet, would "move the cause of Zion in mighty power for good." In the same revelation Oliver Cowdery was designated the first preacher of the Church, not only to the Saints, but also to the world, Jew and Gentile. After this, the Prophet says, "some others" were "called out" and ordained "to different offices in the priesthood," according to the manifestations of the Spirit. The meeting was then dismissed. There were present "several persons, who had not been baptized," but who became convinced of the truth and shortly afterwards joined the Church.

Another meeting was held at the Whitmer home on the following Sunday, April 11th, at which Oliver Cowdery preached the first public discourse under the auspices of the new organization. On the same day six, and on the 18th seven, persons were added to the Church.

The Name of the New Society.

There does not seem to have been any distinct name assigned the new society on this occasion. For several years afterwards, in fact, it was called variously "The Church of Christ," "The Church of Jesus Christ," "The Church of God," and even "The Church of the Latter-day Saints." Very frequently from that day to this it has been called by writers within and without the organization "The Mormon Church," and the religion "Mormonism," though these terms seem not to have been employed very often by the early Saints. The true name of the Church as given by the Lord himself in a revelation dated April 26th, 1838, is "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints." Whatsoever appellation is given it, we must understand, is altogether unauthorized unless it is given by the Lord. The term "Mormon Church," it is safe to say, will never be the designation of this organization, for the simple reason that it is not Mormon's Church, any more than it is Joseph Smith's or Brigham Young's, or any one else's, except Christ's. Like the term "Christian," it was given in derision; and the word, wherever it appears should for this and the reason just named, be enclosed in the customary quotation marks.

"The appropriateness of this title," remarks Elder B. H. Roberts, in a foot note to the "History of the Church," (Vol. II, p. 24), "is self evident, and in it there is a beautiful recognition of the relationship both of the Lord Jesus Christ and of the Saints to the organization. It is 'The Church of Jseus Christ.' It is the Lord's; he owns it, he organized it. It is the Sacred Depository of his truth. It is his instrumentality for promulgating all those spiritual truths with which he would have mankind acquainted. It is his instrumentality for perfecting the Saints, as well as for the work of the ministry. It is his in all these respects; but it is an institution which also belongs to the Saints. It is their ref-

uge from the confusion and religious doubt of the world. It is their instructor in principle, doctrine, and righteousness. It is their guide in matters of faith and morals. They have a conjoint ownership in it with Jesus Christ, which ownership is beautifully recognized in the latter part of the title. 'The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,' is equivalent to 'The Church of Jesus Christ,' and 'The Church of the Latter-day Saints.' "

CHAPTER VI

NOT OF THE WORLD

No sooner was the new Church organized than it met with opposition. At Fayette, attempts were made to do violence to the converts of the "new" gospel. Here Joseph had probably met with less opposition than at any place where he had lived since the memorable year 1820. He had been ridiculed for his belief wherever else he went. Here he had been treated at least with respect, and in many cases with positive friendship. Now, however, much of this was changed. When it was found that he was obtaining a following, and was actually organizing this following into a church, those who did not believe in him or his work sought to interfere with its progress. Not only at Fayette was opposition manifested. Colesville, in New York, and Harmony, in Pennsylvania, were scenes of more or less opposition.

The First Miracle.

At Colesville, the disturbance between the Saints and their opponents was of a somewhat serious character, and created much trouble among those who had been baptized. It was at this place, it will be remembered, that Joseph Knight lived. The Prophet, it seems, had known Mr. Knight for a number of years. He had worked for the latter during much of the time that intervened between the first vision and the year 1827, when he received the plates. He had, moreover, been several times befriended by Mr. Knight while translating the record. Mr. Knight, therefore, was well ac-

quainted with Joseph's character, and, though a Universalist, had been impressed with the young man's message. Joseph had often visited the Knights, where he had always been made welcome and where he had often had conversations with them on religion.

Mr. Knight had a son Newel, with whom Joseph was on intimate terms. Newel had promised Joseph that he would pray at one of the meetings which were held at his father's house; but when the time came, he failed to do so. Upon being chided by the Prophet for his neglect, he said that he would pray alone instead of in public. This he attempted to do one day in a grove not far from his home, when he was seized by a strange power which bound his tongue so that he could not speak. Shortly afterwards he returned to his house. He had no sooner reached home than he was again seized by this terrible power, but with such violence this time as to result in all manner of bodily contortions. He was tossed about the room in a most frightful manner. He succeeded in making his wife understand that he wished Joseph to come to his aid; and she immediately went for the Prophet. As soon as Joseph entered the room Newel said, "I am possessed by an evil spirit, and I want you to rebuke him." The Prophet replied, "If you believe that I can do it, it shall be done." And almost unconsciously he commanded the evil spirit, in the name of Jesus Christ, to depart. Immediately Newel was made well, and he declared that he saw the Devil leave him and pass out of the room. The Spirit of the Lord now entered him, giving him a feeling of supreme joy. It lifted him bodily from the bed where he lay, till his head and shoulders touched the ceiling. This was the first miracle ever performed in this dispensation, "and it was done," remarks the Prophet in speaking of it later, "not by the power of man, but by the power of God, to whom be glory forever."

A number of those who witnessed it were non-members of the Church, but they joined soon afterwards.

Of course the news of this miracle soon spread over the neighborhood. Before this, when people began to attend the meetings and to believe the new faith, religious jealousy began to manifest itself, endeavoring to prevent the work from spreading among the people. This wonderful manifestation, of course, only added fuel to the flame of this opposing spirit, which grew during the successes of the Saints till it was a formidable power against the truth. Meetings were held at the Knight home and elsewhere, and were attended by the people in the vicinity. Alarm grew apace. One minister, it is said, failing in his efforts to persuade a young lady, a sister of Newel Knight's wife, from listening to the elders and attending their meetings, secured from her father a power of attorney over her and took her away from the place; but even this exteme measure was ineffectual, for she afterwards returned and was baptized. Failing in a mild way to turn the people from the gospel, the enemy restorted to violence.

Arrests and Trials of Joseph.

Some time later than this, Joseph, with his wife Emma and two or three elders, went to Colesville for the purpose of attending to a number of baptisms. Saturday evening some of the Saints made a dam in a creek so that, on the following day, the ordinance might be performed. But during the night the dam was torn out by an enemy. On Monday, however, the converts were baptized early in the morning before any opposition could be manifested to such a degree as to prevent the work. Finding their efforts thwarted thus, a mob to the number of about fifty, collected before Knight's house, where the Prophet and his friends were staying. Joseph went out and spoke to them calmly, but without

pacifying them. Finally they left without doing any other injury than offending, with profanity and threatenings, the sensitive ears of those who were the objects of their rage.

The next morning an officer came to the house and arrested Joseph for setting the country in an uproar. This officer ,however, before leaving with his prisoner, revealed a plot that had been made to get the Prophet into the hands of a mob, but expressed his determination to frustrate this wicked design. The two were soon on their way to South Bainbridge, in an adjacent county, where the Prophet was to be tried. On their way they passed a crowd of men, evidently those of whom the sheriff had spoken, who stood waiting for the approach of the two. The officer, however, whipped up his horse, and left them running in the rear venting themselves in curses and yells. Arrived at Bainbridge, the friendly officer took his prisoner to an inn and protected him from any possible danger, giving him the only bed in the room, while he himself lay on the floor, with his feet against the door, ready to rise at the first alarm.

In due time the trial took place. Every effort that malice could put forth was exerted by the Prophet's enemies to convict him of an offense against the law. Witnesses who knew nothing of the Prophet's character and history except from hearsay, were allowed to testify against him. Everyone who knew him personally—as for example, Josiah Stoal, Joseph and Newel Knight—had nothing but good to say of him. An effort was made to prove that Joseph had stolen a yoke of oxen from Mr. Stoal, but the latter testified on the stand that he held Joseph's note for the amount of the purchase, and that he would dispose of more oxen to him on the same terms. Joseph was of course discharged, the judge advising the young man's accusers to go home and spend their time in less mischievous employment.

As soon, during the trial, as it appeared that Joseph

could not be convicted of any offense against the law, his accusers sent to Broome county for another warrant, delaying the court by the most trifling matters until it reached them. Hence, as soon as the Prophet was released, which was about midnight, he was a second time apprehended for offenses alleged to have been committed in Broome county. This time, being in the custody of an officer who was in harmony with the mob, he was subjected to ill-usage. He was compelled, for instance, to travel a distance of fifteen miles, at the end of which he was forced to sleep in the arms of his cruel guard, who trembled with apprehension lest his prisoner should escape. His hunger moreover, was appeased by crusts of bread, and water, the only food which he was permitted to have.

The trial began at ten o'clock and continued till past four in the morning, without intermission. The whole country was dragged for men who would testify against the Prophet, whether they knew him or not. The counsel for the state endeavored to wrest Newel Knight's testimony concerning the miracle wrought in his behalf into evidence against Joseph as a teacher of a false religion; as if the advocacy of spiritual error were a crime against the temporal law! After two hours were spent by the lawyers in arguing the case, the prisoner was pronounced "not guilty" and discharged. The judges—for there were three—did not, like the judge in the former case, tell the false accusers that they ought to be engaged in better work, but to put on as good a face as possible to the mob, gave the accused a severe reprimand. Joseph was once more a free man.

In both trials the Prophet was ably defended by a Mr. Reid, who, though now a farmer, had been a practicing attorney well versed in the law. Mr. Reid, several years after this, testified that when approached by Joseph's friends to take the case he felt deeply impressed "to go," as he put it,

"to defend the Lord's anointed." After the second trial the officer who acted so cruelly toward Joseph came to the Prophet and apologized for his maltreatment, and to prove his sincerity assisted him to turn aside a third attempt to arrest him.

Harmony was really the home of the Prophet from the time he first went there to translate the plates till the present, although he had been away most of the time since he and Oliver went to live at the Whitmer's, in Fayette. Joseph's father-in-law was, just before the time of which we are now speaking, particularly favorable to the work. Especially did he entertain no bitterness for Joseph. Indeed, the latter had some hopes of eventually bringing Mr. Hale and his family into the Church. During the time when the work of translation was carried on at Harmony, Joseph and Oliver had many times owed their freedom from persecution, and even mob violence, to the friendship of the Hales. Now, however, it was different. When the Prophet returned to his home after the organization of the Church, he found the family very bitter against him. A Methodist minister had been laboring, during his absence, to turn them against Joseph, and had uttered many base falsehoods against him, which the family believed. Joseph, when he returned, tried to win them over to his cause; but was unsuccessful; they were set in their opposition. When, after this, persecution was started against the Prophet, and mob violence threatened his life, Mr. Hale refused longer to exert his influence to protect his son-in-law. Hence, Joseph was forced to leave Harmony, and take up his residence at Fayette. This breach between Joseph and his wife's father was never repaired.

In addition to this opposition from without there occurred two instances, though at different times, showing that there existed dissension within the Church.

The first concerned Oliver Cowdery in particular. Elder

Cowdery, it seems, had been pondering over the revelations given through the Prophet. He wrote to Joseph, who was then living at Harmony, commanding him "in the name of God" to erase certain words in one of the revelations, "that no priestcraft be among us." Joseph wrote to him asking by what authority he commanded him to "add to or diminish from" a revelation given by the Lord. Shortly afterwards the Prophet visited Oliver at Fayette and found that he had misled the Whitmer family into believing that those particular words he had objected to were wrong. However, it was not long before Joseph convinced them all that the words were in entire harmony with the rest of the revelation; and peace and union were restored.

Another similar error arose in the Church, this time involving, chiefly, Hiram Page. He had in his possession a certain stone by which he claimed to have received some revelations concerning the upbuilding of Zion and other things, at variance with the word of God to the Prophet and that also in the New Testament. But when he was shown his error he entirely renounced it, as did those also whom he had deceived. Thus Satan began to waylay some of the Saints by endeavoring to counterfeit the revelations of the Lord. But as these errors were uprooted almost as soon as planted, they did little or no harm.

The Peace Which Passeth Understanding.

Neither opposition from without, however, nor discord within the Church was to be the only lot of the infant organization. There were blessings also in store for the Saints. The very opposition, as it has so often proved since, was a source of subsequent joy. Dreams and visions began to illumine their minds, in fulfillment of the Prophet Joel's prediction. Joseph continued to receive revelations for the guidance of the Church. Everywhere the work prospered, members being added almost every week. The Lord frequently mani-

fested his wisdom and power in their behalf. Once, when it was necessary to confirm the persons who had been baptized under the threatening circumstances at Colesville which we have just given, the Prophet, in company with his brother Hyrum, and John and David Whitmer, undertook to perform this duty. A reward of five dollars had been offered any one who would give information of the arrival of any elders. Nevertheless, these brethren went through the town, held a meeting, at which those who had been baptized were confirmed, and returned to their homes, without being recognized by their enemies at Colesville, though the latter had eyed them curiously as they passed. Afterwards the Prophet heard that his enemies had been informed, when it was too late, of the visit of the elders, and that a mob had gathered, annoying the brethren all the next day.

During this time two conferences of the Church were held, at which evidences of divine favor were received by the faithful Saints.

The first was held on the 9th of June. There were present about thirty Saints, besides a number who were either believers or who desired to learn of the new faith. The sacrament was administered,* some persons who had been recently baptized were confirmed, and others were ordained to the priesthood. The Holy Spirit was poured out upon the Saints in a miraculous manner. Some prophesied and others saw visions. Newel Knight declared that he saw the future of the great work which the Lord was establishing on the earth, and that he beheld Jesus Christ sitting on the

*In August, 1830, at Harmony, while the Prophet was on his way to procure some wine for the administration of the sacrament, he was met by a heavenly messenger, and received the revelation recorded in section twenty-seven of the Doctrine and Covenants, the first four paragraphs of which authorized the use of water instead of wine; for "it mattereth not what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink, when ye partake of the sacrament, if so be that ye do it with an eye single to my glory."

right hand of the Father. Some of the Saints who were thus under the influence of the Spirit were entirely overcome thereby and had to be laid upon beds or couches until they recovered their natural strength.

Another conference was held at Fayette on the 26th of the September following, which continued for three days. Here, too, the sacrament was administered, persons previously baptized were confirmed, men were ordained to the priesthood, and other matters of a spiritual nature were attended to. It was at this conference that Hiram Page renounced the "revelations" he had received through his curious stone. It was here, too, that so much was said concerning the work among the Lamanites as to cause many of the brethren to inquire more closely into the promises of the Lord to this benighted race. "During this conference," the Prophet writes, "the utmost harmony prevailed, and all things were settled satisfactorily to all present and a desire was manifested by all the Saints to go forward and labor with all their powers to spread the great and glorious principles of truth, which had been revealed by our heavenly Father." A number were converted to the truth at this conference.

Thus passed away the year 1830. We have no means of knowing what the exact membership of the Church was at this time, but it had grown very rapidly since the sixth day of April. Whether in sunshine or in shower, it prospered marvelously, and the new year "opened with a prospect great and glorious for the welfare of the kingdom."

PART SECOND

On the Banks of the Ohio and the Missouri

CHAPTER I

THE LAND OF SHINEHAH

The Mission to the Lamanites.

The Book of Mormon is replete with predictions of greatness to come upon the "remnant of the House of Israel" when the record of their forefathers should have been revealed to the Gentiles. One passage declares that they shall receive the Nephite record and thus learn of their origin, that through this and other means "they shall come to a knowledge of Jesus Christ" and the great work of human redemption, and, finally, that through their adherence to the gospel they shall become, before many generations shall have passed away, "a white and delightsome people." Another goes on to tell in the most glowing terms, how, after humiliation and oppression at the hands of alien nations, their ancient power and glory shall come upon them, and they shall stalk in the midst of the Gentiles like a young lion among flocks of sheep, treading down and tearing in pieces, whom none can deliver. Another prediction assigns to the Lamanites a prominent part in the building of the New Jerusalem.

It was perfectly natural, therefore, that the early Saints should conceive an interest in the American Indians and be

eager to know if the time had come when these glorious predictions concerning them should be fulfilled. The first intimation of this interest that we have any record of, is found at the time when a conference of the Church was held at Fayette in September, 1830. "Several of the elders," remarks the Prophet, in referring to this occasion, "manifested a great desire respecting the remnants of the House of Joseph, the Lamanites, residing in the West." In answer to this desire came the revelation contained in section thirty-two of the Doctrine and Covenants, calling Parley P. Pratt and Ziba Peterson on a mission "into the wilderness among the Lamanites." Oliver Cowdery and Peter Whitmer, Jr., had already been called to this same mission.

In the following month these four elders began their westward journey, traveling on foot. Near Buffalo they stopped to preach to the Catteraugus Indians, by whom they were received kindly and to some of whom they presented copies of the Book of Mormon. Thence they proceeded to Ohio. At Mentor, a small town in the northeastern part of the State, not far from Kirtland, they found Sidney Rigdon presiding over a congregation of Disciples. Their reason, it seems, for going to Mentor was to call on Mr. Ridgon, who was known to Parley P. Pratt. The pastor entertained the young missionaries hospitably, but would not indulge in any argument with them over their new revelation, which he thought altogether superfluous, seeing that the Bible contains the word of God. He promised, however, carefully to read the volume presented him, and to permit them to preach to his congregation, both of which promises were fulfilled. At the conclusion of a meeting which the elders afterwards held in his chapel, Rigdon advised his flock to consider seriously what they had just heard, in obedience to the injunction of the Scriptures to search all things and hold fast that which is good. Subsequently, after having read the

Book of Mormon, he was converted and baptized, as also were many of his congregation.

At Kirtland, whither the missionaries next went, and where there was a flourishing branch of Disciples, they were equally successful. "The people thronged us night and day," writes Parley P. Pratt in his Autobiography, "insomuch that we had no time for rest or retirement. Meetings were convened in different neighborhoods, and multitudes came together soliciting our attendance; while thousands flocked about us daily; some to be taught, some for curiosity, some to obey the gospel, and some to dispute or resist it." In the course of the two or three weeks that they remained in the vicinity, they baptized one hundred and twenty-seven persons, ordained some to the priesthood, and placed them in charge of the converts. Then they pursued their journey westward, with Dr. Frederick G. Williams, a Kirtland convert, added to their number.

About fifty miles west of Kirtland they stopped over night at the home of a Mr. Simeon Carter, with whom, when they departed, they left a copy of the Book of Mormon. Mr. Carter soon devoured the contents of the strange volume, and believed it with his whole heart. He desired to be baptized, but there being no one in that part of the country who belonged to the Church, he went to Kirtland, where the ceremony was performed. Returning to his home, after having been ordained to the priesthood, he taught the gospel to his neighbors and brought some sixty persons into the Church.

The missionaries, after leaving Carter's, continued on towards the West; but we shall postpone our consideration of the details concerning the rest of their journey until another chapter.

The Removal to Ohio.

In December of this year (1830), Joseph was attending a meeting of the Saints held at the home of his parents. By this time they had moved from Manchester, and were living at a place called Waterloo, not far from Fayette. At the conclusion of the Prophet's discourse, he gave anyone who so desired, the privilege of speaking. A stranger arose. He had been, he said, at Manchester, Joseph's former home, to make inquiries concerning the Smith family, and had found them to have had a good reputation in the neighborhood until Joseph proclaimed his visions. He added that he had found everything about the Smith farm in good order, which indicated care and industry on the part of the owners. These evidences of good character in the founder of "Mormonism," together with what he had previously learned concerning the revelations to the Prophet, had made an impression on him, and he wished to be baptized. This stranger was Edward Partridge,* whose home was at Kirtland, Ohio, and who, with Sidney Rigdon had come to New York for the purpose of meeting the Prophet Joseph. Soon after this, Mr. Partridge was baptized in Seneca River near by.

While the brethren were staying with him, Joseph received a revelation concerning each of them. Edward Partridge was called to the ministry and told to proclaim the gospel "with a loud voice." Respecting this man, the Prophet remarks in his journal that he was "a pattern of piety, and one of the Lord's great men." Elsewhere he declares that Edward was a man "without guile." Another revelation (section 35) was given through Joseph to Sidney

*Philo Dibble, who was living near Kirtland when the missionaries came to Ohio, says that Mr. Partridge, "a man who would not lie for his right arm," was chosen by the people thereabouts to go to Fayette to inquire into the religion which the "Mormon" elders had proclaimed, and also into the character of the Prophet. (*Narrative*, p. 77.)

Rigdon. "Thou art blessed," said the Lord, "for thou shalt do great things. Behold thou wast sent forth, even as John, to prepare the way before me, and before Elijah, which should come, and thou knewest it not. Thou didst baptize with water unto repentance, but they received not the Holy Ghost." He was instructed to "tarry" with Joseph and write for him, Oliver Cowdery being on his journey to the Lamanites, and John Whitmer having been sent to take charge of the Saints at Kirtland; and was promised that Joseph should go with him to Ohio when he returned there. It should be remarked that at this time the Prophet had undertaken the work of revising, by inspiration, the Hebrew Scriptures; and it was for the purpose of writing this that Sidney Rigdon had been commanded to stay.

The promise contained in the revelation to Rigdon that Joseph should accompany him to Ohio, is the first intimation we have of the westward movement of the Church. Shortly after this, a revelation (section 37) was received by the Prophet in which the Saints in New York were enjoined to move from the State. "A commandment I give unto the Church," said the Lord in this revelation, "that it is expedient in me that they should assemble together at the Ohio, against the time that my servant Oliver Cowdery shall return." Hence from this time on, preparations were making for the removal. The Prophet was instructed to lay aside the work of revising the Bible until such time as he might take it up again in his new home. A conference of the Church was held at Fayette, at which all necessary instructions were given the Saints, and final arrangements made for the removal. Hyrum Smith was given charge of the branch over which Joseph had presided, with the counsel to repair to Kirtland as soon as he could do so.

In the latter part of the following January, the Prophet, in company with others, set out for Ohio, his journey having

been hastened by word from John Whitmer that Joseph's presence at Kirtland was much needed, on account of some false spirits that had manifested themselves at the meetings of the Saints.

"About the first of February, 1831," according to one account of the Prophet's arrival at his destination, "a sleigh containing four persons, drove through the streets at Kirtland and drew up at the door of Gilbert & Whitney's mercantile establishment. The occupants of the vehicle were evenly divided as to sex. One of the men, a young and stalwart personage, alighted, and springing up the steps, walked into the store and to where the junior partner was standing.

" 'Newel K. Whitney! Thou art the man!' he exclaimed, extending his hand cordially, as if to an old and familiar acquaintance.

" 'You have the advantage of me,' replied the one addressed, as he mechanically took the proffered hand—a half-amused, half-mystified look overspreading his countenance—'I could not call you by name as you have me.'

" 'I am Joseph Smith, the Prophet,' said the stranger smiling, 'You've prayed me here; now what do you want of me?'

"Mr. Whitney, astonished but no less delighted, as soon as his surprise would permit, conducted the party across the street to his house on the corner, and introduced them to his wife. She shared fully his surprise and ecstasy."

"My wife and I," declares the Prophet, in speaking of their stay with the Whitneys, "lived in the family of Brother Whitney several weeks, and received every kindness and attention which could be expected, and especially from Sister Whitney."

Subsequently, all the branches of the Church in New York removed to Ohio. Lucy Smith, the Prophet's mother, relates how a company of eighty persons, including herself, came from the region of Seneca Lake to Kirtland, traveling

mostly by water. At one point on their way, they overtook and passed two other companies of Saints, going like themselves to the new home. One was the Colesville branch, numbering sixty souls, the other, under the direction of Elder Thomas B. Marsh, comprising thirty. It was some time in the spring when these companies reached their destination.

Why the Church Moved Westward.

Various explanations have been offered as to why the Church moved westward to Ohio. Some anti-"Mormon" writers would have us believe that it was fear, cowardice, in the Prophet that dictated the movement. He feared, it is asserted, that "Mormonism" would be crushed, before it could get fairly started, amid the civilization of the East, and so he took it westward where the population was thinner and where it would be more likely to find toleration. It required darkness and ignorance to thrive well! But those who make such assertions know nothing of the real character of the great founder of "Mormonism" or about the true nature of the Church he established. Few men have exhibited more courage, physical and moral, than Joseph Smith. He knew little else, during the brief span allotted him in mortality, than what concerned situations calling for exceptional courage. And "Mormonism" has always, from the beginning, challenged investigation and the light. It has never sought to lurk in dark places; it has never fostered ignorance. It was for an entirely different reason, therefore, that "Mormonism" forsook the crowded marts of civilization in the East for freedom and the open country in the West.

Doubtless, the first thing that turned Joseph's thoughts to the Ohio country was the success which the Lamanite mission was having in the neighborhood of Kirtland; for the missionaries kept him constantly informed respecting their labors. In two or three weeks, as we have seen, they had established a branch of more than one hundred members; and,

doubtless, in the course of a few months, there would be more members of the Church there than in New York State. Then, too, in December came Rigdon and Partridge, who must have confirmed in the Prophet this idea of the future situation. Added to this was the indication that in the vicinity of Fayette there would be persecution. Indeed a revelation pointed out the dangers from this direction. Finally, the word of the Lord was received directing the whole Church to remove to the Ohio. "A commandment I give unto the Church, that they should assemble together at the Ohio, against the time that my servant Oliver Cowdery shall return. Behold, here is wisdom."

That there was profound wisdom in this command we can plainly perceive, who live in the days when so much has been accomplished in the great West, which would have been impossible under conditions that the Church would have found in the crowded East. And no doubt there is some truth in the statement that "Mormonism" could not have developed its mission in New York State. But "fear" was no element of the wisdom that dictated the policy. The modern Church had a system to develop, a mission to fulfill, problems, temporal and spiritual, to solve. It was not in haste to avoid civilization, for no matter how far west it came, it endeavored constantly to carry as much as possible of that civilization with it. "Mormonism," in the course of its progress, has touched the heart of the great questions that confront the modern world, questions of government, of society, of labor and capital, as well as of religion. And though it has not yet answered them fully in practical life it has gone farther toward that end than it could have done under any conditions which it would have found in the East, and farther, too, than any other religious organization in the world. "Mormonism," as the great spiritual world-power of the future, expanded in proportion as it came in touch with the high

mountains the broad plains, and the free atmosphere of the great West. And the movement to Ohio was but the first step in this direction.

The New Home.

Kirtland, the new home of the Saints, is situated in one of the loveliest spots in all northern Ohio. It is on a branch of the Chagrin. "On the shores of the river and its streams lie green levels; from these, bluffs rise steeply for some two or three hundred feet to tablelands of great fertility." The highest of these bluffs was destined to be crowned, five years later, by the first temple in this dispensation. Twelve or fifteen miles to the southwest was what subsequently developed into the city of Cleveland. Directly north, fifteen miles, was Painsville, and three miles north-west was Willoughby, at present the nearest railway station. And beyond all these, toward the north, might be seen, of a sunny day, the broad expanse of Lake Erie shimmering in the distance. In 1831 Kirtland contained between fifteen hundred and two thousand inhabitants, though today this number, augmented in that year by the influx of Saints from New York and other places, has since dwindled to fewer than two hundred.

Besides Kirtland there were several other towns in the neighborhood in which we shall be interested as we pursue our narrative. Only four miles directly north was Mentor, the home of Sidney Rigdon. Thompson, where the Colesville branch was subsequently to settle in a body, was situated about eighteen miles in a northeasterly direction. The town of Hiram, which at the time was the home of the Johnson family, lay in Portage county, twenty-five or thirty miles southeast, near the Cuyahoga river. In addition to these, we hear in this stage of our story, of Orange, Cuyahoga county, and Amherst, Loraine county where conferences of the Church were held one at the former town in

October, 1831, and another at the latter place in January, 1832.

In this new home "Mormonism" was to find for a time, fertile soil and a congenial atmosphere, in which it was destined to flourish like a green bay tree, by reason of a preparatory work which had been unconsciously performed there by the new sect of the Disciples.

This denomination was established by Alexander Campbell, "a man of extraordinary talents, and distinguished for his readiness in debate," and ably assisted in this region by Walter Scott and by Sidney Rigdon, "the great orator of the Mahoning Association." Campbell had been excluded, in 1827, from the fellowship of the Baptist society on account of some differences of opinion, and subsequently organized a church on the basis of principles which he supposed to be more in harmony with the Holy Scriptures. The organization grew very rapidly, especially in the Western Reserve. One of the doctrines advocated by the new sect was, that the Scriptures ought to be interpreted literally. In this way the minds of the people were brought back to the Bible, from which they had strayed into labyrinths of human dogmas. Another doctrine was, that immersion was the only correct form of baptism, that its object was remission of sin, and that faith and repentance were prerequisites. And these teachings, brought home to the hearts and hearths of the masses by such talented and popular preachers as Campbell, Scott, and Rigdon, furnished a most admirable stepping stone from the far-away spiritualizings of the generality of Christian sects to the first and fundamental principles of "Mormonism;" and it is no marvel that the Church drew such a large following from the Campbellite organization.

It is, therefore, in the light of a forerunner to the great latter-day work that this and other such religious movements must be interpreted. Those among the Disciples, comments

Elder B. H. Roberts, very appropriately in this connection, "who have rejected the fulness of the gospel when it was presented to them, have failed to understand aright the meaning of the Campbell-Scott-Rigdon reform movement—they have failed to recognize in that movement merely a preparation for the incoming of the fulness of the gospel." Sidney Rigdon, as we have already seen, was likened to John the Baptist; and doubtless the same thing was true of Campbell and others who aided him, only they were unable to see the fulness of the light when it appeared. But whether or not the leaders failed to do this, hundreds of their followers were put in a position by this church to receive the gospel when it was taught them.

A Temporal Movement.

The arrival of the New York Saints at Kirtland and vicinity was the occasion for one of the most important and fundamental temporal movements of the Church—the "order of Enoch," or the "united order," which was revealed and established at this time.

It was, of course, known to the Saints generally, and to the Prophet in particular, that this law had been practiced by the people of God in other times. They had read, no doubt, that the disciples of Jesus, after the Resurrection, had lived according to this temporal law; for it is written that "the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul,—neither said any of them that ought of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things in common." Then, too, already the Prophet had brought to light, in the revision of the Hebrew Scriptures which was even now in progress, many details concerning the city of Enoch, in which the united order reached a perfect state. The city was called Zion because her people were of one heart and one mind, and dwelt in righteousness; and there

were no poor among them. In addition to all this, the Saints had doubtless become familiar with the fact that, according to the Book of Mormon, the law was in operation among the ancient Nephites for fully two hundred years. Thirty-six years after Christ's appearance, "the people were all converted unto the Lord, upon all the face of the land, both Nephites and Lamanites, and there were no more contentions and disputations among them, and every man did deal justly one with another; and they had all things common among them, therefore they were not rich and poor, bond and free, but they were all made free, and partakers of the heavenly gift."

But it was not the fact that the principle had been observed by the people of the Lord in ancient times, which led to its adoption in these days, much less was it the circumstance that a small branch of the Campbellite church at Kirtland had endeavored to imitate the practice of the New Testament Saints, in what was commonly known in the neighborhood as "the family." The idea came as a revelation to the Prophet "at the solicitation of Bishop Partridge," who wished to know the mind of the Lord respecting the important question, then pressing, as to what should be done for the temporal welfare of the newly arrived Saints from New York State.

The controlling ideas of this "united order" are both plain and simple. The key note is, One man shall not possess that which is above another in temporal affairs. Everyone, whether rich or poor, is to "consecrate" to the Church all his property, real and personal, "with a covenant and a deed which cannot be broken." This property, in case of apostasy, does not revert to him, but remains in the possession of the Church. Then each man receives from the agent a "stewardship" small or great in proportion to his family, his needs, and his talent to manage. This, too, is to be given by

covenant and deed, and this he has claim upon in case he should leave the Church. "All children have claim upon their parents until they are of age. And after that they have claim upon the Church, or in other words upon the Lord's storehouse, if their parents have not wherewith to give them inheritances." Each branch of the Church where this law is established is independent, in this respect, of every other, and transacts business in its own name. Whatever accrues from each stewardship, over and above the amount necessary for the family's maintenance, goes into the general storehouse, from which any just deficit may be made up. Thus all men are to have things in common and to deal justly one with another.

The order was first established among the Saints of the Colesville branch, who were temporarily located at Thompson; and the organization made there was to be an "ensample" to all the other branches. Subsequently, it was established at Kirtland and Zion, when this latter place was made known to the Saints. But on account of the selfish propensities of man and also because of the distressful conditions under which it was practiced, the "order" was dissolved and another, and less perfect, law given. This inferior law (section 119) was tithing, which requires one-tenth of one's increase annually. It was introduced in 1838. The higher law, however, will eventually be in vogue among the Saints; for the Lord has declared that "Zion cannot be built up unless it is by the law of the celestial kingdom."

"Mormonism" thus recognizes the perpetual strife between selfishness and greed, apparently so natural in man in his present state, and the law which requires him to love his neighbor, even his enemy, as himself. "The love of money," the apostle declared more than eighteen centuries ago, "is the root of all evil," and the saying is as true today as when it was first uttered. Problems arising out of the inequality of

men in a material way have always challenged the best powers of the wisest to furnish a proper solution. In no age have these problems been so terribly emphasized as in our own. Scheme after scheme has been devised to meet the evil, from a periodical re-distribution of property to a system of community of goods, such as "Mormonism" suggests. But these have failed, or are failing, on account of the difficulty of finding a motive common to all. Religion furnishes the only motive from which men will act in such a society, and even then that must be more powerful than what we are accustomed to see in modern times. Given proper conditions under which to operate, and such a system as we have briefly outlined above would contribute more than anything known to men towards rectifying social evils and removing obstacles in the way of man's spiritual progress.

CHAPTER II

ZION—PAST, PRESENT, AND TO COME

Kirtland, however, was not the only place to which the Saints were attached during this second period in the history of the Church. Zion, in Missouri shared this affection with the Ohio town. Indeed it seems that the larger interest of the Saints during most of this time lay with the former; for while our concern in Kirtland has gradually diminished till it is now kept alive merely by the events which happened there, our interest in Zion, on the contrary, has proportionately increased, not only because of its greater historical importance, but also by reason of what is to take place there in the future.

The Lamanite Missionaries.

After organizing the converts at Kirtland into branches with presiding officers, the five missionaries to the American Indians proceeded on their way to the West. Their journey from now on was even more hazardous than they had been led to expect. It was in the dead of winter, and the snow lay heavy on the ground. Their route touched Sandusky and Cincinnati, in Ohio ,and St. Louis and St. Charles, in Missouri. The last three hundred miles led them over a wild and desolate prairie, trackless and without habitation save for an occasional hunter, and visited frequently by the keen north wind. They traveled the entire distance on foot, except for a few days' ride up the Ohio, the mouth of which they found impassable. For whole days together they made no fire, and ate nothing but raw bacon and frozen bread. Frequently they waded through snow waist-deep; they were wet through by the rains; nearly always they were cold and

worn out with the toils of the day. But they trudged heroically on, feeling that they were engaged in the service of truth. Meanwhile, they had been proclaiming the gospel wherever opportunity presented, in private and in public. We have seen that, fifty miles west of Kirtland, their labors resulted in the establishment of a branch numbering sixty souls. At Sandusky the missionaries had remained several days preaching to the Wyandot Indians; and at other places where they had stopped they had had many conversations, which afterwards bore some excellent fruit.

Arrived at Independence, Jackson county, Missouri, their long-sought-for "borders by the Lamanites," two of their number obtained employment in the town as tailors, while Oliver Cowdery and Parley P. Pratt crossed the boundaries of the State in quest of the Delawares. By the chief of these Indians—an aged sachem of many tribes—they were received with kindness, and to him they communicated their message of peace. After some hesitation he consented to call a council of his chief men that they might listen to what the brethren had to say.

Oliver Cowdery addressed the assembled sages. He told them how, countless moons ago, their forefathers came from across the mighty waters under the guidance of the Great Spirit; how, for many generations they dwelt here, till through wickedness the white portion were destroyed; how, when they were righteous, a great Man came among them and taught them many wise things, which with their own history they wrote down in a book; how their prophets and other holy men prayed that this book might come to the knowledge of their children in the last days; how the Great Spirit promised that this desire should be gratified; how, later, this book was buried in a hill by one of their last prophets; how an angel, the same person who had hidden the book, came to a young boy near the great waters and gave

him this sacred history which he wrote down in the language of the pale face; and, finally, how these five missionaries had come many hundred miles, through deep snows, to bring this book to the Delawares. And thereupon the inspired preacher gave them a copy of it, with instructions to read it carefully and think upon its sayings.

The sachem thanked the men for the interest they had manifested in him and his tribes, and directed them to a Mr. Pool for their entertainment while they should stay in the neighborhood. Treated very kindly by Mr. Pool, they looked forward to performing much good. But their hopes were suddenly blighted by religious jealousy and bigotry; for the Indian agent, incited by sectarian ministers, ordered them to leave the territory of the red man on pain of prosecution if they persisted in preaching their obnoxious doctrines to the Indians. So the elders took their departure for Independence.

Their mission to the Lamanites being thus unexpectedly terminated, the elders met at Independence for the purpose of determining upon their next step. "It was now the 14th of February. The cold north wind which had blown for several weeks, accompanied with very severe weather, had begun to give place to a milder breeze from the south; and the deep snows were fast settling down, with every prospect of returning spring." At the council it was decided that one of their number should return to the Church in Ohio, perhaps to headquarters in New York, in order to communicate with the President, report their labors, pay visits to the branches of the Church which they had organized on their westward journey, and to obtain more books for their further use in their missionary work. The duty of making this arduous trip fell upon Elder Pratt. Leaving his companions, in the latter part of this month (February), he made the return journey, encountering many difficulties, and being delayed

two or three weeks by sickness. Upon reaching Kirtland, he discovered, to his surprise, that the branches of the Church in that vicinity had increased greatly during his absence, and that, in the meantime, the headquarters of the Church had been moved thither from New York.

"Thus ended our first Indian mission," wrote Elder Pratt, "in which we had preached the gospel in its fulness, and distributed the record of their forefathers among three tribes, viz., the Catteragus Indians, near Buffalo, N. Y., the Wyandots of Ohio and the Delewares of Missouri. We trust that at some future day when the servants of God go forth in power to the remnant of Joseph, some precious seed will be found growing in their hearts, which was sown by us in that early day." Viewed from one standpoint, this mission had signally failed, for scarcely anything so far as the Indians were concerned, ever came from the labors of these elders. But this would be a hasty conclusion if no other view of it were taken. The mission had accomplished some very remarkable results. Like so many other movements in early Church history, it attained objects which the keenest human foresight could not at the time have pointed out. If the expectations of the Saints respecting the Lamanites in their conversion to the truth, were not realized, this mission might at least claim the honor of having opened the way for the westward march of the Church in the work performed at Kirtland and at Independence, and in bringing several hundreds, and ultimately thousands, of people to a knowledge of the gospel. So the Indian mission, after all, was gloriously successful, though not exactly in the direction marked out for it by the Saints.

The City of God.

At this time the significance that attaches to the land of Missouri had not been revealed to the Saints. But the Lamanite

mission served to direct attention to that place, and from this time on their ideas concerning it became clearer till permanent settlements were established there.

From the very beginning of the Church in this dispensation, it seems, there had been a peculiar charm for the Saints in the terms "Zion" and "New Jerusalem." To these their attention was first awakened, doubtless, by the Book of Mormon. For in this sacred volume they read that at some day future to the time when the book was written, a great and magnificent city, called the New Jerusalem, should be built somewhere on this continent, "unto the remnant of the seed of Joseph" and unto those "whose garments are white in the blood of the Lamb." And they were confirmed in this idea by revelations to the Prophet Joseph. As early as September, 1830, the Lord announced that "the city" should be built "on the borders by the Lamanites," to which place these missionaries had been called to labor among the Indian tribes From this time till July of the following year, the Saints were made familiar, through constant repetition, with these sacred names; and we may imagine how their interest grew with each mention. Up to this time, however, it is not likely that they attached any peculiar importance to Missouri. About the same time they were informed in a revelation to Joseph that the exact location should be pointed out.

Nor was this anticipation likely to be diminished by the glowing descriptions which they must have read in the Scriptures, Hebrew and Nephite, of the city, and also of the temple that was to be built therein. The city should lie four-square. Its public buildings and private residences should be magnificent beyond anything else among men. The kings of the earth were to bring their glory into it, and there should in no wise enter it anything unclean. The glory of Lebanon should be brought to it, the fir tree, the pine tree, and the box together, to beautify the place of his sanctuary. For

brass there should be gold; for iron, silver, for wood, brass; and for stones, iron. It should be a land of peace, a city of refuge a place of safety. The glory and the terror of the Lord should dwell there. The wicked should say: "Let us not go up against Zion, for her inhabitants are terrible!" The redeemed of the Lord should enter her gates with songs of everlasting joy. Joy and gladness should be found therein, thanksgiving and the voice of melody. It should have no need of the sun, neither of the moon, to shine upon it; for the glory of the Lord should light it, and the lamp thereof should be the Lamb. And the nations should walk in the midst of her light forevermore. The temple, too, should be worthy of such a place. Standing in the centre of the city, it should focus all this glory and splendor. Only skilled workmen, inspired of heaven, should lay their hands upon it; its ornaments should be of gold, silver, and the most precious stones; its summit should be crowned by day with a cloud and by night with a pillar of fire. The whole scene was to be one of ineffable grandeur and divine magnificance, not to be conceived by the uninspired mind. No wonder the Saints were thrown into transports of joy in the mere contemplation.

It was early in June, 1831, after a conference at Kirtland, that Joseph received a revelation appointing the next conference in Missouri. There, said the Lord, you shall learn about "the land of your inheritance." Twenty-eight missionaries (section 53) were called to preach to the people west of Ohio, "baptizing by water, and laying on hands by the water's side." They were all to meet in Missouri. Soon after this, the missionaries set out on their journey, Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Martin Harris, Edward Partridge, Joseph Coe, and A. S. Gilbert and wife going together via Cincinnati and St. Louis, the others traveling two by two preaching by the way. They arrived at Independence about

the middle of July. The Prophet has recorded the joyful meeting, not only with those who had arrived severally from Kirtland, but also, and especially, with those who formed the Lamanite mission and who, except Elder Pratt, had remained in Missouri ever since their arrival early in the year. In a short time afterwards the Colesville branch, which had been temporarily located at Thompson, Ohio, arrived at Kaw township, twelve miles west of Independence. The number of Saints now at Missouri, therefore, was between ninety and one hundred.

Not long after the arrival of the brethren at Independence, the Prophet received a revelation (section 57) in which the location of Zion was made known. Missouri was designated as the land which the Lord had consecrated as the gathering point of the Saints in the last days. "This is the land of promise," declared the revelation, "and the place for the city of Zion. Independence is the centre, and the spot for the temple is lying westward, upon a lot which is not far from the court house." The revelation goes on to give instructions concerning the manner of settling Zion. The land should be purchased "even unto the line running directly between Jew and Gentile." The law of consecration, theretofore revealed, was to be in vogue. Sidney Gilbert was appointed "to receive moneys to be an agent unto the Church to buy land in all the regions round about," to the extent of the people's ability, and as wisdom should direct. Edward Partridge was to "divide unto the Saints their inheritance." A storehouse was to be kept, where goods might be sold "without fraud," the profits of which were to be used in buying land. Finally, a printing office was to be established, with William W. Phelps and Oliver Cowdery in charge.

Zion as it was and will be.

The land which these brethren looked upon and which was destined to occupy so much attention on the part of the Saints, was very remarkable in many ways.

It was at the time a new country, only recently released from Indian ownership, situated on the frontiers of the Union, "a promontory of civilization into an ocean of savagery." The western parts of the State were sparsely inhabited; Jackson county, in 1830, had a population of only a trifle more than twenty-eight hundred as compared with something less than two hundred thousand in 1900. "The white settler's house was a log hut,generally with a dirt floor, a mud plastered chimney, and a window without glass, a board or quilt serving to close it in time of storm or severe cold. A fireplace, with a skillet and kettle, supplied the place of a well-equipped stove. Corn was the principal grain food, and wild game supplied most of the meat. The wild animals furnished clothing as well as food; for the pioneers could not afford to pay from 15 to 25 cents a yard for calico, and from 25 to 75 cents for gingham. Some persons indulged in homespun cloth for Sunday and festal occasions, but the common outside garments were made of dressed deerskins. Parley P. Pratt, in his autobiography, speaks of passing through a settlement where some families were entirely dressed in skins, without any other clothing, including ladies, young and old."

Jackson county is centrally located with respect both to the United States and to the American continent. It was described at the time as an extensive and beautiful rolling prairie, spreading out like a billowy sea of meadows, and decorated with flowers of every hue and variety. It was divided, here and there, by streams of water, fringed with strips of timber from one to three miles in width, and comprising oak, hickory, black walnut, elm, ash, cherry, honey locust, mulberry, coffee bean, hack-berry, box-elder, cotton-

wood, butterwood, pecan, hard and soft maple. The soil, which is from three to ten feet deep and of a rich black mould, is exceedingly fertile, and produces in abundance not only wheat, corn, and many other hardy products, but also several varieties of fruit and vegetables requiring a warmer climate such as tobacco, flax, sweet potatoes, peaches, and gapes. Wild game—buffalo, elk, deer, bear, wolves, beaver and many varieties of fowl—abounded at the time in the uninhabited parts. The climate as may be inferred from this, is mild and delightful during three-fourths of the year.

In June, 1833, to anticipate our narrative a period of nearly two years, the Prophet sent the presiding officers in Missouri "an explanation of the plot of the city of Zion." The following description, based, of course, on this explanation, is taken from Elder B. H. Roberts's excellent account in his *Missouri Persecutions,* with which, however, I have taken some liberties. The city plat is one mile square, divided into blocks containing ten acres each, except the middle range of blocks running north and south, which will contain fifteen acres. The streets will be eight rods wide, intersecting each other at right angles. A tier of blocks of forty by sixty rods will be reserved for public buildings, temples, tabernacles, school houses, etc. All the other blocks will be divided into half-acre lots, with a four-rod front to every lot, and extending back twenty rods. In one block the lots will run north and south, and in the next one east and west, and so on alternately throughout the city, except in the range of blocks reserved for public buildings. By this arrangement no street will be built on entirely through the city, but on one block the houses will stand on one street, and on the next one on another street. All of the houses are to be built of brick or stone; and but one house on a lot, which is to stand twenty-five feet back from the street, the space in front being for lawns, ornamental trees, shrubbery, and flowers,

according to the taste of the owners; the rest of the lot will be for gardens, etc. It is supposed that such a plat when built up will contain fifteen or twenty thousand inhabitants, and that they will require twenty-four buildings to supply them with houses for public worship and schools. These buildings will be temples, none of which will be less than eighty-seven feet by sixty-one, and two stories high, each story to be fourteen feet, making the building twenty-eight feet to the square. Lands on the north and south of the city will be laid off for barns and stables for the use of the city; so there will be no barns or stables in the city among the homes of the people. Lands for the agriculturist are also to be laid off on the north and south of the city, but if sufficient land cannot be laid off without going too great a distance, then farms are to be laid off on the east and west also; but the tiller of the soil as well as the merchant and mechanic will live in the city. The farmer and his family, therefore, will enjoy all the advantages of schools, public lectures, and other meetings. His home will no longer be isolated, and his family denied the benefits of society, which has been, and always will be, the great educator of the human race; but they will enjoy the same privileges of society, and can surround their homes with as much refinement as will be found in the home of the merchant or the banker.

"When this square is thus laid off and supplied," said the Prophet, "lay off another in the same way, and so fill up the world in these last days; and let every man live in the city, for this is the city of Zion."

Zion Dedicated and Settled.

"On the second day of August," says the Prophet in his journal, "I assisted the Colesville branch of the Church to lay the first log, as a foundation of Zion." The log was placed by twelve men "in honor of the twelve tribes of Israel." At the

same time the land of Zion was dedicated by Sidney Rigdon. Elder Rigdon stood up and asked those present at the ceremonies:

"Do you receive this land for the land of your inheritance, with thankful hearts, from the Lord?"

"We do," was the answer from all.

"Do you pledge yourselves to keep the law of God on this land, which you never have kept in your own land?"

"We do."

"Do you pledge yourselves to see that others of your brethren who shall come hither do keep the laws of God?"

"We do."

After prayer he arose and said, "I now pronounce this land consecrated and dedicated unto the Lord for a possession and inheritance for the Saints, and for all the faithful servants of the Lord to the remotest ages of time, in the name of Jesus Christ, having authority from him. Amen."

On the following day the temple site was dedicated by Joseph himself, in the presence of a number of the brethren who had come with him. The 87th Psalm was read, the entire ceremony being very impressive. The next day the first conference in the land of Zion convened at the house of Joshua Lewis, in Kaw township, where the Colesville Saints had settled. A few days after this the Prophet received two revelations (sections 59 and 60), in the former of which some fundamental laws were given for the government of the Saints, and in the latter some of the brethren were told to remain in Zion and others to return to their homes. On August 9th the Prophet and others started for Kirtland, arriving there on the twenty-seventh.

From the summer of 1831 to that of 1833, the Saints continued to gather to Zion, till by this latter date there were about twelve hundred in Jackson county. There were settlements at Independence, at Kaw township, and on the Big

Blue, besides others whose exact location is not certain. The first settlers, having come there so late in the year, were unable to put in crops, and in consequence they suffered more or less hardship during the succeeding winter and spring. But after that they got along much better, because, being industrious, they planted crops and reaped a good harvest. Meantime,they bought land, built houses, and improved their surroundings till there appeared evidences of prosperity on every hand. A printing press was established, and a Church publication begun, *The Evening and Morning Star,* and a school for the elders organized under the direction of Parley P. Pratt. "They lived in peace and quiet; no law suits with each other or with the world; few or no debts were contracted; few promises broken; there were no thieves, robbers or murderers; few or no idlers; all seemed to worship God with a ready heart. On Sundays the people assembled to preach, pray, sing, and receive the ordinances of God. Other days all seemed busy in the various pursuits of industry. In short, there has seldom, if ever, been a happier people upon the earth than the Church of the Saints were," in 1833.

The Saints and their New Neighbors.

In view of the difficulties which arose later between the Saints and the old settlers, and which we shall speak of in another chapter, it is important that we obtain a correct estimate of the character of these two classes. And this is the more necessary because of the efforts on the part of so many non-"Mormon" writers on the subject to have their readers believe that the Saints in these troubles were always the offenders, and that the rest of the population were only acting in self-defense when they expelled the "Mormons" from the county. Anyone who will impartially consider the elements of difference between the Jackson county people and the "Mormons" will be forced to admit that something like the

conflict which subsequently took place was inevitable; and the actual facts in the quarrel will show that the first inhabitants were not acting on the defensive, either.

First of all, there was a difference in their habits, mode of life, and customs generally. The Missourians were mostly from the Southern States, while the Saints came, for the most part, from New England and the North. Hence, the former believed in, and to the extent of their power, practiced slavery; the latter very naturally entertained different notions respecting slavery, though they had not expressed their views on the subject. This fact meant also that while the old residents of Missouri were accustomed largely to have their work done by slaves, the "Mormons" were in the habit of doing their work themselves; and this difference would have the natural effect of establishing thrift and industry in the latter, and in the former of encouraging indolent habits, sometimes downright laziness. Whatever may be said of the poverty of the Saints in Missouri at this time, they were certainly as a class more industrious than the majority of the population which they found there. The Prophet declared that the Missourians in Jackson county possessed a "leanness of intellect," and that they were "a century behind the times." The contrast, he remarks, between the East and this part of the West, was very great. Colonel Thomas L. Kane, in 1846, characterized the border inhabitants of Western Missouri and Iowa "the vile scum which our own society, like the great ocean, washes upon its frontiers;" and expresses the gratification he felt on reaching the "Mormon" camps, then in Council Bluffs, on their way to Salt Lake Valley, and "associating again with persons who were almost all of Eastern American origin—persons of refined habits and decent language." The old settlers lived mostly along the water courses, as they imagined that the prairie was unfit for cultivation.

Though there were thrifty, intelligent, and religious men and women in this part of Missouri, it is nevertheless an undeniable fact that no small portion of the population was made up of the lazy, the ignorant, the irreligious, and the criminal. The State being the extreme western limits of the United States, much of the criminal element escaped thither from the East, in the hope of evading the law by coming to Missouri, where, at a moment's warning, they might escape across the boundaries beyond the reach of pursuing officials. Then, there were negroes who had run away from their masters, bankrupt politicians, not only in purse but also in character, and sectarian missionaries of various denominations seeking to instil their peculiar tenets into the Indian and the pioneer mind. It may seem strange to some that the last class should be counted as one of the inharmonious and disturbing elements in this motly community; but wherever any difficulties occur between "Mormons" and non-"Mormons" it will usually be found that narrow-minded sectarian preachers are at the bottom of them.

The Saints, on the contrary, were very similar to one another in character. They came from pretty much the same locality; they had much in common, not only in a spiritual, but in a material way. No doubt some of them were ignorant, and most of them were doubtless very poor; but there were in the "Mormon" settlements persons of ability and learning. They were industrious, moreover, and had none of the criminal element among them. That they were a community of workers is evident from the difference that soon manifested itself between the appearance of their settlements, of only a few months' standing, and that of neighboring towns, which had been years in the building. And their freedom from offenders against the law is evident not only from the fact that when trouble broke out between them and the Missourians the latter admitted that the law could not be

applied to the "Mormons," but also from the fact that not a single "Mormon" had been arrested or punished for violation of the law. Such were the differences between the Latter-day Saints and the older settlers in Missouri so far as their general character and modes of living were concerned.

But there were two other differences, one growing out of poltics, and the other out of religion. It was soon found that the Saints kept pretty much to themselves, that they laid aside their work on the Sabbath and went to meeting, and that at election they voted more or less together. This latter fact gave rise to all kinds of apprehension on the part of the Missourians in Jackson county, lest if the "Mormon" population continued to increase, they would in time either control political affairs or make it necessary for the old settlers to move elsewhere. The first alternative was made the more disquieting from the numerous peculiarities of the religion professed by the new comers. They believed, for instance, in continued revelation, in visions, in miracles, and, most of all, they contended that they were the elect and that the other churches were wrong.

All these differences between these two elements in Jackson county made it inevitable that some day there would be an open rupture between them.

CHAPTER III

AS THE STARS DIFFER

It is a curious fact in the history of the Church that the Prophet Joseph nearly all his life was engaged in some inspired literary undertaking. From 1827 to 1829 he was at work on the translation of the Book of Mormon. As soon as that duty was performed and the book published to the world, he entered upon the task of revising the Hebrew Scriptures, which occupied his attention till the year 1833. Finally, in 1837, there fell into his hands some rolls of Egyptian papyrus the translation of which filled up his spare moments for a number of years. All this labor of revision and translation, however, even that of the Nephite Scriptures, was more incidental in its character than we have been accustomed to believe,—incidental, that is, to the enunciation of the great truths which it was instrumental in bringing to light.

Plain and Precious Things.

Probably the occasion for the inspired revision of the Bible arose out of some passages in the Book of Mormon in reference to the book that "proceeded forth from the mouth of a Jew." Speaking of the time when the "great and abominable church," held sway over the human mind, the Nephite record declares prophetically that this church had "taken away from the gospel of the Lamb, many parts which are plain and most precious; and also many covenants," and that this was done in order to "pervert the right ways of the Lord," by blinding men's eyes and hardening their hearts. In consequence of this tampering with the word of God, "an exceeding great many do stumble, insomuch that Satan hath great power over them." But this work of revising the

Bible was also in harmony with the great mission imposed upon the Prophet Joseph, and was part, though perhaps a comparatively insignificant part of his work as Restorer.

Why did the Prophet undertake this revision? Two reasons might be given.

In the first place errors have crept into the text of the Scriptures through the numerous copies and translations that have been made from the first. The Old Testament was originally written in Hebrew, and the New in Greek. These writings were all, of course, in manuscript form, written by the hand; and when copies were needed each "had to be written out, letter by letter, at great expense of time and trouble, and unfortunately very often at some expense of the original correctness." In speaking of the probability of such errors in these transcriptions, J. Patterson Smyth, an English scholar, remarks: "However careful the scribe might be, it was almost impossible in copying a long and difficult manuscript to prevent the occurrence of errors. Sometimes he would mistake one letter for another, sometimes, if having the manuscript read to him, he would confound two words of similar sound; sometimes, after writing in the last word of a line, on looking up again his eye would catch the same word at the end of the next line, and he would go on from that, omitting the whole line between. Remarks and explanations, too, written, in the margin might sometimes in transcribing get inserted in the text. In these and various other ways errors might creep into the copy of his manuscript. These errors would be repeated by the man that afterward copied from this, who would also sometimes add other errors of his own. So that it is evident, as copies increased, the errors would be likely to increase with them." That this danger was always imminent is evident from what Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons, in the second century, wrote in one of his books. "I charge thee," he de-

clares to whosoever might copy his work, "with an oath by our Lord Jesus Christ that thou carefully compare what thou his transcribed, and correct it according to this copy, whence thou hast transcribed it, and thou transcribe this oath in like manner, and place it in thy copy." No doubt great pains were taken to make correct transcriptions, especially with the Holy Scriptures. So scrupulous, for example, were the Jewish scribes with their transcriptions, of the Old Testament manuscripts, "that even if a manifest error were in the copy they transcribed from, they would not meddle with it in the text, but would write in the margin what the true reading should be; if they found one letter larger than another, or a word running beyond the line, or any other mere irregularity, they would copy it exactly as it stood. Such exactness, of course, very much lessened the danger of erroneous copying, and makes our Hebrew Scriptures far more trustworthy than they could otherwise be." But with all the care that could be taken in the matter, and this unfortunately was not so conspicuous in the copyists of the New Testament manuscripts, errors were bound to creep into the text. Many of these, no doubt, were corrected by the modern translators, who had access to some ancient manuscripts (though not the original ones by many removes) various versions, and "the fathers." Still, with all this, it must be confessed that our English Bible is far from perfect in this respect.

But the Book of Mormon prefers a charge even more serious than carelessness on the part of copyists; and this is another reason why Joseph should undertake the revision. It declares, as we have seen, that during the time the Bible was solely in the hands of "the great and abominable church," it underwent changes on account, not merely of unconscious mistakes, but of wickedness and corruption in the church. Any one who is at all acquainted with ecclesiastical

history must concede that conditions were extremely favorable to the perpetration of this class of fraud. The general mass of men were unable to read; and if they had been, there were not enough copies of the Scriptures to allow of much general information regarding their contents. The Bible, therefore, being in the hands of the clergy, it was a simple matter for them to insert renderings wholly at variance with the spirit of the gospel, or to leave out passages unfavorable to claims that grew up in the church. And that the clergy were capable of such wickedness is evident from what they did do. There came a time in the long course of usurpation of temporal power on the part of the popes when it would have been a glorious triumph for the church if, in the matter of this temporal power as in that of general law in the Christian religion, she could refer to a series of decrees by earlier popes, thus carrying the authority of the holy see back to its very origin. "That such decrees unfortunately did not exist," says Emerton in his *Mediaeval Europe,* "was a slight obstacle." And so the much needed decretals were actually forged, most probably "in France, by some person or group of persons interested in raising to the very highest point the authority of the bishops over the laity." Such was, presented in its most charitable light, the origin of the "Forged Decretals," "the most stupendous of the many forgeries by which the Roman church has built up its immense power over the lives of men." In view of a fraud like this, who can doubt that such a thing as the Book of Mormon charges against the mediaeval church might have occurred?

With these two influences at work, carelessness and deliberate wickedness, it was perfectly natural for errors to get into the text of the Holy Scriptures. The proof, it seems, that there are such errors is supplied by the fact "that an exceeding great many do stumble," and is further corroborated by the numerous italicisms on every page of the Bible,

which indicate words not in the original Hebrew or Greek texts.

In speaking thus of the way in which the word of God to the ancients has been handed down to us, we would not be understood as disparaging that word. The Saints regard the Bible as a true and sacred record, and though not intended by the Lord for man's only guide of faith, is exceedingly valuable as containing the truths by which mankind will ultimately be judged. But there is really nothing gained in the long run by attempting to cover up imperfections in the Bible due to uninspired men. In the hands of an inspired prophet of God, however, the original renderings of passages might easily restored, for which purpose Joseph undertook the revision.

The Inspired Revision.

The work which the Prophet accomplished in revising the Scriptures, is often called a translation; but it was not really a translation, inasmuch as he made no pretentions to an acquaintance with Hebrew and Greek sufficiently to enable him to make a translation. All he did was to revise, under inspiration of the Lord, the various books of the English Bible. In what manner this revision was accomplished does not appear. It was begun in 1830, soon after the completion of the Book of Mormon. Writing in December of this year, the Prophet speaks of the "extended information," which the Saints were receiving, "upon the Scriptures, a translation of which had already commenced." In this same month, we learn that Sidney Rigdon was instructed in a revelation (section 35) given him through the Prophet on the occasion of his visit to Fayette, to write for Joseph, "and the Scriptures shall be given, even as they are in mine own bosom, to the salvation of mine own elect." Soon after this, however, the matter was laid aside until after the removal of

the Church to Ohio occurred, when it was taken up again and continued till it was again laid aside in 1833, the Prophet having gone through the entire volume of Scripture, both the Old and the New Testament. According to President George Q. Cannon, the Prophet, before his death, had intended to go through the translation of the Scriptures again for the purpose of perfecting it upon points of doctrine which the Lord had restrained him from giving in plainness and fulness at the time when he first went over the work. No authorized edition of this revised Bible has ever appeared, though an edition has bene published by the Josephites. Doubtless if the Prophet had lived to complete the work, it would have been made public with his sanction. Such are the facts connected with the work of revision itself. And so to the differences between this and the common English version.

These may, for clearness, be grouped under three general classes: first, mere corrections; second, supplied words and phrases, to make the text clearer; and, third, supplied passages, which give a larger meaning and greater fulness to narratives and expositions that are obscure in our King James Translation. Taking up these in their order, we shall place, where we can, passages from both the authorized version and the inspired revision in parallel columns, writing in italics the essential changes and additions.

King James Translation.	*Inspired Revision.*
Therefore leaving the principles of the doctrine of Christ, let us go on unto perfection; not laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works,and of faith toward God, of the doctrine of baptisms, and of laying on of hands, and of resurrection of the dead, and of eternal judgment.—Heb. 6: 1, 2.	Therefore *not* leaving the principles of the doctrine of Christ, let us go unto perfection; not laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works,and of faith toward God, of the doctrine of baptisms, of laying on of hands, and of the resurrection of the dead, and of eternal judgment.—Heb. 6: 1, 2.
"And when the Gentiles heard this, they were glad and glorified the word of the Lord; and as many as were ordained to eternal life believed.—Acts 13: 48.	"And when the Gentiles heard this, they were glad, and glorified the word of the Lord; and as many *as believed were ordained unto eternal life."*—Acts 13: 48.
"Blessed are the poor in spirit; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven."—Matt. 5: 3.	"Blessed are the poor in spirit *who come unto me;* for theirs is the kingdom of heaven."—Matt. 5: 3.
"Marvel not at this; for the hour is coming in the which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good,unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil unto the resurrection of damnation." —John 5: 28, 29.	"Marvel not at this, for the hour is coming, in the which all who are in their graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth; they who have done good, *in the resurrection or the just, and they who have done evil, in the resurrection of the unjust.*—John 5: 28, 29.

King James Translation.

"These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth, when they were created, in the day that the Lord God made the earth, and the heavens, and every plant of the field before it was in the earth, and every herb of the field before it grew; for the Lord God had not caused it to rain upon the earth, and there was not a man to till the ground. But there went up a mist from the earth, and watered the whole face of the ground."—Gen. 2: 4, 6.

Inspired Revision.

"And now behold I say unto you that these are the generations of the heaven, and of the earth, when they were created in the day that I the Lord God, made the heaven and the earth,and every plant of the field before it was in the earth, and every herb of the field before it grew; *for I, the Lord God, created all things of which I have spoken, spiritually before they were naturally upon the face of the earth; for I the Lord God, had not caused it to* rain upon the face of the earth. *And I, the Lord God, had created all the children of men,* and not yet a man to till the ground, *for in heaven created I them,* and there was not yet flesh upon the earth, neither in the water, neither in the air; *but I, the Lord God, spoke,* and there went up a mist from the earth, and watered the whole face of the ground."—Gen. 2: 4, 7.

But the most valuable parts of this last class of alterations in the inspired revision are those which are wholly new, but which are too extensive to be inserted here. One of these is what may be called an introduction to the Bible, in which the Lord gives Joseph the Prophet, "the words which He spake unto Moses at the time when Moses was caught up into an exceeding high mountain, and saw God face to face, and talked with him, as the glory of God was upon him." It tells of the struggle that occurred between Satan and the great Jewish law-giver, concerning which we have merely an allusion in the King James version. It informs us, too, in what manner Moses obtained the material for his history of the creation, which was direct from the Lord. Another important passage of considerable length gives a great many details in which Enoch figured conspicuously. This prophecy of Enoch tells of the preaching of the gospel by Adam, of the wickedness that prevailed over the face of the land, of the labors of Enoch to bring men to repentance, of his success, and of the final translation of this prophet and all the righteous whom he had collected into a city. But the reader who wishes to appreciate these longer passages should not be content till he has read them for himself.

In this brief discussion of this part of our study, it will, we trust, be clear that for an inspired revision of the Bible there was a serious need, that such a labor was part of the mission of the modern prophet, and that he did a good service to the Saints in the work he thus performed.

Visions and Revelations.

At the beginning of this chapter we called attention to the rather strange fact that Joseph, during the greater part of his active life, was engaged in some divinely appointed literary work. It is an even more curious fact in Church history

that so many of the earlier revelations to the Prophet were apparently incidental, by which we mean that they grew naturally out of the facts and conditions in which Joseph and the Saints found themselves, and that, also, they came, for the most part, in answer to a manifest need in the Church for them. Circumstances in the life of the Prophet and in the lives, too, of his companions in the work, suggested the need of further light upon particular points, and this light, so far as we know, was always vouchsafed them. Instances of this will occur to any one familiar with our history. The first vision came to Joseph in answer to his prayer in which he asked the very important question which of all the churches by which he was surrounded was the true one. Those magnificent revelations connected with the Book of Mormon were received in answer to a desire and prayer that the young Joseph might know his standing with the Lord. The Lamanite mission, with all that followed as a result of it came as a reply to a general anxiety on the part of some elders, and a question on the part of the Prophet, concerning the fate of the Indians. And so we might give many other instances. It is very much the same with the revelations and visions we are now to relate. They came as an outgrowth of reflection upon passages in the Bible which Joseph and Sidney were revising. And if this revision had accomplished no other result than being the occasion of the vision concerning the degrees of glory in the next world, it would have amply repaid this generation for all the time and labor expended upon it by these two men.

We have already spoken of the writings of Moses which were restored to their place in the Hebrew Scriptures through the instrumentality of the Prophet Joseph Smith, during the progress of the revision. Others of a similar character were given subsequently. The fourteenth verse of the seventh chapter of First Corinthians,—"For the un-

believing husband is sanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband, else were your children unclean, but now are they holy"—was explained in a revelation (section 74) to the Prophet. In the same way many passages in the Revelation of St. John were expounded to Joseph and his companion. Reference to section 77, of the Doctrine and Covenants will make it clear that this modern Restorer has reflected no inconsiderable light upon this profoundly obscure book, a book which no theologian in Christendom lays any claim to understanding.

But the most important of the revelations connected with the revision of the Scriptures, is the one called "The Vision," and found in section seventy-six of the Doctrine and Covenants. The occasion for this revelation was a difficulty which the Prophet and Sidney Rigdon had experienced in understanding the twenty-ninth verse of the fifth chapter of John, which speaks of the resurrection of the dead, and which we have already quoted. "Now this caused us to marvel," declares the Prophet, "for it was given unto us of the spirit. And while we meditated upon these things the Lord touched the eyes of our understanding and they were opened, and the glory of the Lord shone round about; and we beheld the glory of the Son, on the right hand of the Father, and received of his fulness; and saw the holy angels, and them who are sanctified before his throne, worshiping God and the Lamb for ever and ever."

Apostates and Mobocrats.

All these things occurred at Hiram, Portage county, a town about thirty miles southeast of Kirtland. Joseph had moved there for the purpose, it seems, of continuing the revision of the Scriptures, and was living with the family of John Johnson, a member of the Church. Emma was with

the Prophet, and Sidney Rigdon and his family were occupying a house in the same town.

Hiram was the home also of Ezra Booth and Simonds Ryder, both of whom had been somewhat noted preachers, the former in the Methodist Church, the latter in the Campbellite organization. Booth had been converted by seeing a miracle performed. Mrs. Johnson, it appears, had been afflicted for some time with a lame arm, and while she and her husband and Mr. and Mrs. Booth, were on a visit to the Prophet, then at Kirtland, the latter at their request had administered to her arm, upon which it was immediately healed. Booth thereupon joined the Church. Subsequently, he went to Zion with the group of Elders who were called to go there; but he soon became disaffected and left the Church. The Prophet says that when Booth learned that "faith, humility, patience, and tribulation go before blessing," when he found out that the Savior would not grant him power, "to smite men and make them believe," as he had desired, he was disappointed. Shortly afterwards, he published in the *Ohio Star* a series of nine articles, in which he endeavored to cast odium upon the cause he had forsaken.

The conversion and the apostasy of Simonds Ryder are equally interesting as throwing light upon his character. Like Booth, Ryder was converted by a supernatural manifestation, though in his case it was a prophecy. An earthquake took place in Pekin, China, which Ryder had heard predicted by a young "Mormon" girl six weeks previously. As he had been for some time considering whether nor not to join the Church, this proved "the final weight in the balance," and he threw his influence upon the side of "Mormonism," which caused an excitement almost equal to that which followed the conversion of Rigdon. He was ordained an elder, but in the letter which notified him of the fact that it

was the will of the Lord that he should preach the gospel, as well as in his commission to preach, his name was spelled R-i-d-e-r instead of R-y-d-e-r. This led him to doubt whether the Lord had had anything to do with his call, since if the "Spirit through which he had been called to preach could err in the matter of spelling his name, it might have erred in calling him to the ministry as well." So a misplaced letter proved his undoing spiritually, and he left the Church. He seems to have been as bitter against his former friends, as his companion preacher, Ezra Booth. In addition, three of the Johnson boys, Eli, Edward, and John, Jr., had also left the Church.

The significance that attaches to the apostasy of Booth and Ryder at this time is, that they led a strong opposition against the Prophet which resulted in the customary mob violence. This disturbance occurred in the latter part of March, 1832. On the night of the 24th, Joseph, exhausted by long watching at the bedside of two sick children—the Murdock twins, which Emma had adopted in place of her own, which had died,—had thrown himself upon the bed and fallen asleep. Emma, who had retired, was awakened by a tapping at the window, which, however, she took no particular notice of at the time. But it was only a few moments till about a dozen men broke into the room, roughly took up the sleeping form of Joseph, and dragged him out, amid the screams of his wife, and his own struggles to free himself from their grasp. About thirty rods from the house they came upon another band of men with Sidney Rigdon, who had been dragged by the feet, his head beating against the rough, frozen ground. Leaving Rigdon, unconscious, the united mob, increasing in number every minute, went about thirty rods more where they held a consultation to determine what should be done with the Prophet.

While the majority were thus engaged, a number of others held Joseph, being careful to keep him from touching the ground, lest he should spring away from them. The result of the deliberation was that he should be stripped of his clothes, and then covered with tar and feathers. With threats, horrible imprecations, and blasphemy, they perpetrated this outrage on the Prophet's person, forcing the tar-paddle into his mouth, and breaking a vial of liquid against his teeth. They then left him. After several attempts to rise he finally succeeded, wiped away the tar from his lips so that he might breathe more freely, and made his way towards a light, which he afterwards found issued from his own window. Calling for a blanket, he entered the house, where a number of the sisters in the neighborhood, hearing of the trouble, had collected. He spent the rest of the night in removing the tar and cleansing his body. The next day being Sunday, he preached at the usual meeting of the Saints, at which several of the mobbers were in attendance, but he made no allusion to the preceding night. For several days after this barbarous treatment, Sidney Rigdon was delirious.

In the mob, besides Ryder and probably Booth, were "one McClintic," whom Joseph recognized; a man by the name of Waste, "the strongest man in the Western Reserve;" Streeter, a son of a Campbellite preacher; "Felatiah Allen, who gave the mob a barrel of whisky to raise their spirits; and many others of various religious parties, but mostly Campbellites, Methodists, and Baptists." The mob had obtained the feathers which they used on this occasion from Elder Rigdon's home. In consequence of exposure brought on by this affair, one of the twins contracted a severe cold, from which it died a few days later. Soon after this, Sidney Rigdon moved with his family to Chardon, a place about five miles from Kirtland. Joseph went on his second visit to Zion, in Missouri, thus probably escaping oth-

er mobbings, for "the spirit of mobocracy was very prevalent through that whole region of country at the time."

The Writings of Abraham.

Another ancient document of great value which Joseph the Prophet, was instrumental in revealing to the world is what is known among the Saints as *The Book of Abraham.*

In July, 1835, Michael H. Chandler came to Kirtland, exhibiting four Egyptian mummies, which, according to his account had come into his possession in the following manner: His uncle Antonio Sebolo, a French traveler and antiquarian, had explored the catacombs near Thebes, in Egypt, from one of which he had obtained, at considerable labor and expense eleven mummies. With these he was returning to Paris, when he was taken sick and died. The ancient treasures, at Sebolo's request, were sent to Mr. Chandler, who was at Philadelphia. The coffins were opened for the first time in New York, and the features of some of the bodies were discovered to be in the most perfect expression. With two of the figures was found "something rolled up in some kind of linen and saturated with bitumen," which proved to be two rolls of papyrus, in perfect state of preservation, and "covered with black or red ink, or paint." Mr. Chandler, having no particular fondness for this kind of relics, was induced while at Kirtland, to part with, not only the papyrus, but also the mummies, to some of the Saints.

A few days after the purchase of these rolls, Joseph, with Oliver Cowdery and William W. Phelps, began the translation of one of them. They discovered to their joy that it was the writings of Abraham. The other they found was the writings of Joseph of Egypt. "Truly," says the Prophet, "the Lord is beginning to reveal the abundance of peace and truth." From this time on, as his other duties would permit, he studied the Egyptian alphabet and the rolls,

showing them meantime to friends and strangers who chanced to appear. Among those to whom he made explanations and exhibitions were Elders William E. M'Lellin, Brigham Young, Jared Carter, and John Taylor. Finally, the translation of the Book of Abraham was completed and published to the world, first in the *Times and Seasons,* and afterwards as part of the Pearl of Great Price.

The Book of Joseph, it seems, was never published, if it was ever translated. The mummies, with which the rolls of papyrus were found, were kept for several years by Lucy Smith Joseph's mother, who had them on exhibition at Nauvoo; but they finally found their way to the Chicago museum, where they were destroyed in the fire that occurred there in 1871.

The Book of Abraham as published in the Pearl of Great Price, is a very remarkable work in many respects. It is in the main an autobiographical sketch of the ancient patriarch, though it is far more valuable for the great truths it contains in relation to the customs of the Egyptians and Chaldeans of that early day; the location, relative positions, and operations of the heavenly bodies, which Abraham learned through the urim and thummim; the doctrine of preexistence, which is set forth with such rare clearness; and the creation of the earth, which supplements very beautifully the account given in Genesis.

CHAPTER IV

ZION IS FLED

Lowering Clouds.

It is but natural that the differences in character and mode of life we have spoken of between the Missourians and the Latter-day Saints should result in something more tangible than sentiment. As early as the spring of 1832, some of the Saints' houses were stoned at midnight, and the people otherwise molested. Probably, this act was only the expression on the part of boys, of ideas and feelings which they had been imbued with at their homes. Yet in the fall of the same year a haystack belonging to the "Mormons" was burned; the people insulted and abused, and some of the houses shot into. In April, 1833, about three hundred of the older inhabitants met at Independence for the purpose of consulting upon what they ought to do with their unwelcome neighbors, the "Mormons;" but before they reached the point of serious deliberation, the meeting broke up in a characteristic Missouri row. The Saints believed that the real secret of this failure on the part of their enemies to come to an agreement, was a prayer which they had collectively offered that the meeting might come to naught.

The ministers, too, during this time, were not idle. One of them, a Reverend Ewing, for instance declared that "the Mormons were the common enemies of mankind and ought to be destroyed"—a very humane and Christian sentiment, to be sure, to be found lodged in the heart of a man who was ostensibly in Missouri to teach people how better to follow the example of Jesus in all things. A Reverend Pixley, at about the same time, published a tract entitled "Beware of False Prophets," in which he denounced the "Mormons," dis-

tributing it from house to house. This venomous pamphlet of Pixley's, as well as the diatribe of Ewing's, was answered in *The Star,* though in such a general way as not to refer directly to these preachers or to any of the local ministers.

In July of this year (1833), towards the middle of the month, the Saints discovered that there was in circulation among the non-"Mormons" of the county what the latter were pleased to call the "Secret Constitution." This interesting document, which, judging by the frequent reference to the theological aspect of the situation, was drawn up by a sectarian pen, was very numerously signed. The list included the names of a jailor, the county clerk and his deputy, the Indian agent, the postmaster at Independence, a colonel and judge two justices of the peace, a lawyer, a doctor, a constable and his deputy, a captain, and several merchants. This "Constitution" declared that since the arm of the civil law did not offer them a sufficient protection against the evil of having the "Mormons" among them the signers intended to rid their society of these objectionable persons, "peaceably if they could, forcibly if they must." It chaged (1) that the "Mormons" claimed to hold personal communion or converse face to face with the Most High God;" (2) that they were "the very dregs of that society" from which they had come, and were, therefore, lazy, idle, and vicious; (3) that they were poor having brought little with them from the East, and left less behind; (4) that they had tampered with the slaves of the older settlers; and (5) that they claimed Jackson county by reason, not of purchase, but of the direct gift of God. This remarkable document closed with the words: "We, therefore, agree that after timely warning, and receiving an adequate compensation for what little property they cannot take with them, they refuse to leave us in peace, as they found us, we agree to use such means as may be sufficient to remove them, and to that end we each

pledge to each other our bodily powers, our lives, fortunes and sacred honors!" A meeting was called for the 20th of the month "to consult on subsequent movements."

When the 20th of July arrived there appeared between four and five hundred persons at the Independence court house. After the usual preliminaries of election of officers—Colonel Richard Simpson, chairman, and James H. Flournoy and Colonel S. D. Lucas, secretaries—a committee of seven —Russel Hicks, Robert Johnson, Henry Childs, Colonel James Hambright, Thos. Hudspeth, Joel T. Childs and James M. Hunter—was appointed to draft an address to the public. "Professing to act not from the excitement of the moment, but under a deep and abiding conviction, that the occasion was one that called for cool deliberation," this July meeting, comprising all classes of Jackson county non-"Mormons," through this report of its committee, gravely specifies the following charges against the new settlers: First, that the "Mormons" are elevated "but little above the condition of our blacks, either in regard to property or education." "Most of those who have already come," the document goes on to say, "are characterized by the profoundest ignorance, the grossest superstition, and the most abject poverty." In the next place, it is asserted that the Saints claim inheritance in Jackson county by special grant of the Lord. Thirdly, it alleges that the "Mormons" had been tampering with the slaves and Indians. Lastly, the belief of the new comers was objected to. "When we reflect on the extensive field in which the sect is operating," continues this Address, "and that there exists in every county a leaven of superstition that embraces with avidity, notions the most extravagant and unheard of, and whatever may be gleaned by them from the purlieus of vice, and the abodes of ignorance, is to be cast like a waif into our social circle, it requires no gift of prophecy to tell that the day is not far distant when the civil

government of the county will be in their hands, when the sheriff, the justices, and the county judges will be Mormons, or persons wishing to court their favor from motives of interest or ambition." It concluded by declaring: (1) "that no Mormon shall in future move and settle in this county; (2) that those now here, who shall give a definite pledge of their intention, within a reasonable time to remove out of the county, shall be allowed to remain unmolested until they have sufficient time to sell their property, and close their business, without any material sacrifice; (3) that the editor of the *Star* be required forthwith to close his office, and discontinue the business of printing in this county; and as to all other stores and shops belonging to the sect, their owners must in every case comply with the terms of the second article of this declaration; and upon failure, prompt and efficient measures will be taken to close the same: (4) that the Mormon leaders here are required to use their influence in preventing any further emigration of their distant brethen to this county, and to counsel and advise their brethren here to comply with the above requisitions; (5) that those who fail to comply with these requisitions, be referred to those of their brethren who have the gifts of divination, and of unknown tongues, to inform them of the lot that awaits them."

A recent non-"Mormon" work praises this "Address to the Public," for the skill with which it is drawn up. But, certainly, not so much praise can be given it on the score of truth, delicacy of sentiment, and humanity; and as it is the result of "cool deliberation" on the part of its authors and indorsers, not of "the excitement of the occasion," we may examine these charges briefly.

The first one is, that the "Mormons" were poor, ignorant, and supstitious. That the Saints were poor is evident from all that we know of their circumstances at the time.

It is doubtless true that some of them were ignorant. But it is not true that "most of those" who were in the county were so. Superstitious they certainly were not, unless belief in the Bible and present revelation, visions, miracles, be called superstitious. For it cannot be shown that the "superstition" of the "Mormons" was anything other than this. Surely, no genuine believer in the teachings of Christ could have written or indorsed this Address. Besides, this whole charge comes with extremely bad grace from a county made up of the class of people composing the population of Jackson county, and it is a weak fortification of their position to say that there were some "skilled pens" among them.

As to the complaint that the Saints claimed to have received land in and around Independence, little need be said. No one has ever attempted to show that the "Mormons" ever tried to obtain any land without purchasing it in a legal way. Indeed, in an unguarded moment the writers of this document assert that the *Star* urges the brethren not to come here unless they are able to purchase an inheritance "which means," says this Address, "some fifteen acres of wild land for each family." It is probable, too, that some unwise persons among the Saints openly boasted that they would soon enjoy the property now owned by the older settlers, which the non-"Mormons," with worldly wisdom, interpreted into an attempt, more or less imminent, to dispossess them of their rights.

The third charge, namely that the Saints had tampered with the slaves and entered into alliance with the Indians, is based on what appeared, editorially, in the issue of *The Evening and Morning Star* of July 16th,, respecting "free people of color." The advice is given in this editorial for the Saints to use wisdom regarding their conduct and conversation on the subject, for the reason that "slaves are real estate in this and other States." Two sections of the

Missouri laws respecting slavery and the punishment for bringing into the State "any free negro or mulatto, not having in his possession a certificate of citizenship," were quoted without comment. This article on slavery, than which nothing could be a clearer disapproval of the bringing of "free people of color" or of tampering with slaves, these men, with characteristic unfairness, construed into "an indirect invitation to the free brethren of color in Illinois, to come up like the rest to the land of Zion!" That this was only a trumped-up charge for the purpose of more thoroughly rousing bitterness against the "Mormons" in the county, is very evident for the reason that not a dozen free negroes or mulattoes ever belonged to the Church during the first nine years of its existence. Then, too, if the Saints had tampered with the slaves, why where they not punished for the offense according to law? That they were not even arrested for this alleged crime is proof positive that the whole charge was "a wicked fabrication," since this Address as well as the "Secret Constitution" contends that the situation between the "Mormons" and their neighbors was "unprovided for by the laws."

The last complaint—that against the religion of the Saints—reveals the secret animus which brought about the "Mormon" trouble in Jackson County. The older settlers feared that, in time, the proselyting system of "Mormonism" would bring about such an influx of "the sect" into the county, as to cause a transfer of the political offices, with the emoluments thereof, from Gentile into "Mormon" hands. Doubtless, just such a state of things would come about in the course of a few years. But there was certainly nothing wrong in the "Mormon" people settling in this or any other part of the United States, in any number whatsoever, since there was no intention, and no signs of interference with any one's rights. Nothing reflects greater light on the char-

acter of the Missourians in Jackson county than this complaint, together with the five declarations with which the Address closes. In the face of these and the subsequent conduct of the Gentiles in this part of the county, and also in the face of their confession that the "Mormons" had broken no law, no words need be wasted in denouncing the character of the Saints there, and in praising the intelligence, skill, and general character of the men who attended this meeting and perpetrated the outrage of expelling the "Mormons" from the county. These things speak for themselves.

After hearing and approving this report, the meeting decided to appoint a committee of twelve "forthwith to wait on the Mormon leaders, and see that the foregoing requisitions are strictly complied with by them." This committee was appointed. Two hours later the twelve men reported "that they had called on Mr. Phelps, the editor of the *Star;* Edward Partridge, the Bishop of the sect; and Mr. Gilbert, the keeper of the Lord's storehouse; and some others; and that they declined giving any direct answer to the requisitions made of them, and wished an unreasonable time for consultation, not only with their brethren here, but in Ohio." "Whereupon," to use the extraordinary, but intentionally vague language of a then current newspaper report, "it was unanimously resolved by the meeting, that the *Star* printing office should be razed to the ground, and the type and press secured. Which resolution was, *with the utmost order, and the least noise and disturbance possible,* forthwith carried into execution, *as also some other steps of a similar tendency;* but no blood was spilled, nor any blows inflicted."

The details of this visit to the "leading Mormons" are these: The committee of twelve called on Edward Partridge, A. S. Gilbert, John Corrill, Isaac Morley, John Whitmer, and W. W. Phelps, laying before them the propositions formulated by the committee of seven and adopted by the

meeting. The brethren replied that the matter was so important, involving as it did the interest of twelve hundred people, as to forbid their giving an immediate answer. They therefore asked for three months, and when this was denied them, ten days, in which they might consult with the authorities in Ohio. But only fifteen minutes was allowed, and the conference came to an end, the committee returning to the meeting at the court-house to report as above.

First Acts of Violence.

This body of men from all parts of the county, including county officials, a number of clergymen of different denominations, and the Lieutenant-Governor of the State, "with the utmost order, and least noise and disturbance possible," if you will, for the more order the worse, in such an undertaking, proceeded to the house where the *Star* was published, and tore the building down, after having secured the books, papers, and other literary valuables of the Church, thrown the press out of an upper window and driven Mrs. Phelps with her sick child out upon the street. Then, in the same "orderly" fashion they broke into the houses of the Saints, caught several brethren and dragged them to the public square and proceeded, if we may use the flippant and irreverent language of an anti-"Mormon" writer, to "decorate them with feathers. One of these was Edward Partridge, a man whom Joseph had asserted to be without guile. Surrounded by several hundred mobbers, he declared his innocence of any offense against any of them or against the law, his refusal to comply with their unlawful and unreasonable request to leave the country, and his determination to suffer, if need were, for the sake of the gospel, as so many of Christ's followers had done before him. With profanity and yells the tools of the mob thereupon stripped this innocent man of his hat, coat, and vest, daubed him from head to

foot with tar, in which had been mixed some strong acid, and then threw upon him a quantity of feathers. He was then permitted to leave, many persons in the mob showing by their countenances how their guilty consciences smote them for taking part in such a barbarous act. Next came Charles Allen, who, for the same "offense" of not desiring to leave the county or of denying his religion, was outraged in the same manner. The other captured brethren, having used the advantage offered them by the general curiosity to see the torturing of the victims, escaped before their turns came. *"But no blood was spilled, nor any blows inflicted!"*

"You now know what our Jackson boys can do," remarked Lieutenant-Governor Boggs to some of the Saints, immediately after this exhibition of brute force; "and you must leave the county." That night, in darkness and silence, the women and children, who had fled in terror at the appearance of the mob, returned to their homes in fear and apprehension as to what had been the lot of those whom this turbulent mob had taken.

An Appeal to the Law.

During the next three months, from the 20th of July to the latter part of October, there occurred no open rupture between the two unfriendly elements in Jackson county, but there were active measures on the part of the Saints to protect their rights and constant threatenings on the part of the mob of what they would do in case their "requisitions" were not complied with.

On the 23rd day of July a mob, numbering upwards of five hundred armed men, came rushing pell-mell into Independence, without any warning, bearing a red flag. They began searching for the leaders of the Saints, swearing that they would bestow from fifty to five hundred lashes on the backs of all whom they caught. They repeated their threat

to rid Jackson county of the "Mormons," peaceably if they could, forcibly if they must. "If they will not go out," these fiends shouted, "we will whip and kill the men; we will destroy their children, and ravish their women!" Fearing for the lives of their people and hoping to satisfy the insane fury of the mob, John Corrill, John Whitmer, William W. Phelps, A. S. Gilbert, Edward Partridge, and Isaac Morley, with Christlike unselfishness offered to submit to any cruelty of the mob, even to death, if thereby they might turn aside from the body of their people in Jackson these outpourings of hate. But the animosity of these flint-hearted men would not be appeased by such a trifling sacrifice. These six, they declared, would be lashed soon enough, but every man, woman, and child would be served likewise, until they consented to leave the county.

Seeing the utter futility of treating with the mob on any other terms than an agreement to leave, these six brethren signed a "treaty," with their enemies to the effect "that Oliver Cowdery, W. W. Phelps, William M'Lellin, Edward Partridge, Lyman Wight Simeon Carter, Peter and John Whitmer and Harvey H. Whitlock shall remove with their families out of this county, on or before the first day of January next, and that they, as well as the two hereinafter named, use all their influence to induce all the brethren now here to remove as soon as possible; one-half, say by the first of January next, and all by the first day of April next, to advise and try all means in their power to stop any more of their sect from moving to this county; and as to those now on the road, they will use their influence to prevent their settling permanently in the county, but that they shall only make arrangements for temporary shelter, till a new location is agreed for the society. John Corrill and Algernon Sidney Gilbert are allowed to remain as general agents to wind up the business of the society, so long as necessity shall require;

and said Gilbert may sell out his merchandise now on hand, but is to make no new importation." In addition it was agreed that the *Star* should not again be published, nor a press set up, in the county; and that Partridge and Phelps be "allowed to go and come, in order to transact and wind up their business." The mob committee, on their side, pledged themselves "to use all their influence to prevent any violence" provided the other party complied with the terms of agreement.

In the spell of peace that followed this, the Saints sent Oliver Cowdery to Ohio to consult with the Prophet respecting the best course to pursue in the situation. It was there decided that the brethren in Missouri should petition the Governor, Daniel Dunklin, for redress and protection. Accordingly, a petition was prepared, setting forth the grievances of the "Mormon" people in Jackson county and asking the Governor "to raise by express proclamation or otherwise, a sufficient number of troops, who, with us, may be empowered to defend our rights that we may sue for damages for the loss of property, for abuse for defamation, as to ourselves, and if advisable try for treason against the government." Orson Hyde and William W. Phelps took this petition, which was signed by all the members of the Church in Jackson county, to the Governor at Jefferson City. But the Chief executive, in his reply, declared that he "was not willing to persuade himself that any portion of the citizens of the state of Missouri" were so lost to a sense of right "as to require the exercise of *force*." He therefore advised the petitioners "to make a trial of the efficacy of the laws," assuring them, however, that in the event of their not being able to obtain the necessary protection, he would, when the fact was "officially notified to" him "take such steps as will enforce a faithful execution of" the laws. "No citizen," he further stated, "nor number of citizens, have a right to take the re-

dress of their grievances, whether real or imaginary, into their own hands."

In accordance with the instructions of Governor Dunklin, the Saints made preparations for securing the necessary protection from the law courts. They engaged the services of Attorneys Wood, Reese, Doniphan, and Atchison, a law firm in Clay county. As the court was to convene on the 28th of October some interesting developments were awaited.

Meanwhile, the mob element had been threatening the Saints with serious trouble in case they appealed for aid to the Governor or planted any suits against any of them during the ensuing court period. But the brethren had gone on undaunted by these threats to do both of these things. When, however, this firm of lawyers was engaged to conduct the legal proceedings against members of the anti-"Mormon" gang, there appeared indications of further violence between the two parties.

A Resort to Arms.

On the night of October 31st, a mob force attacked the Whitmer settlement, on the Big Blue, about ten miles west of Independence, severely whipped a number of men frightened women and children so that they ran in every direction, and unroofed ten or twelve houses. On the following night, Nov. 1st, Independence was attacked, houses were stoned and the "Mormon" store broken into and the goods scattered in the street. Several of the brethren, hearing of this second attack, came to the rescue. They caught one of the mobbers—McCarty by name, who was bolder than the rest, for he remained while the others fled—in the act of destroying the property. They took him to Justice Weston, with the request that a warrant be issued for his arrest; but the judge refused, and so the man was set free. After this, it

may be interesting to note, a warrant was made out against these same brethren for assault and battery on the person of McCarty, and false imprisonment, on which they were actually tried and imprisoned! On this night another attack was planned on the Saints, at Kaw Township, but the capture and detention of the spies by the brethren, prevented the proposed disturbance.

The "Mormons," hopeless as to any outside aid coming to them, now began to arm themselves for defense. The mob forces became bolder and more violent. A second attack was made on the branch on the Big Blue. David Bennet was beaten and shot while lying sick in bed. This fact coming to the ears of nineteen of the "Mormons," who were not far off, they hastened to the scene, whereupon a skirmish occurred, in which one of the mobbers was shot. At this point in the difficulties, Parley P. Pratt and some others were despatched to Lexington for a peace warrant from Circuit Judge Ryland, but Ryland refused to grant one, advising them "to fight and kill the outlaws whenever they made any attacks."

Monday, Nov. 4th was "the bloody day," which the Missourians had threatened the previous Saturday. On this day a collision occurred between them and about thirty "Mormons." A skirmish followed, in which several on both sides were wounded. One of the brethren, Andrew Barber, was mortally wounded, dying next day. Two of the mob were killed Thomas Linville and H. L. Brazeale, the latter of whom had boasted that with ten more like himself he would wade to his knees in blood, but he would drive the "Mormons" from Jackson county.

Excitement now became intense. Lieutenant-Governor Boggs called out the militia, which consisted of the very men who had taken part all along in these attacks upon the Saints; so that now the mob was legalized and better pre-

pared to accomplish its object. Through a misunderstanding, Lyman Wight with about one hundred of the brethren came towards Independence where the militia was stationed under Lucas and Pitcher, two of the bitterest anti-"Mormons" in the country; but the company retreated when they learned that no mob was making an attack. It was enough, however, that they had been seen. The enraged Pitcher demanded that the brethren surrender their ams and deliver up certain men, who had been engaged in the fight on the preceding day, to be tried for murder. Wight refused, unless Pitcher would also disarm his men. This was agreed to, and Wight's company gave up their arms, forty-nine guns and one pistol.

But the other side did not fulfill their part of the agreement. Instead, they entered the Saints' houses, beat the men, and threatened the women and children, who fled in consternation. Lyman Wight was chased for several miles by a gang of militiamen, and endured much suffering in consequence of lying out nights, and being without food or shelter. Ministers and soldiers vied with each other in inflaming the popular mind against the "Mormons" and in hounding them about upon the prairie, committing all sorts of depredations. A company of one hundred and ninety Saints, all women and children, except three helpless old men, "were driven across a burnt prairie. The ground was thinly crusted with sleet, and the trail of these exiles was easily followed by the blood which flowed from their lacerated feet!" Thus were the "Mormons" forced to flee from their homes in this most unfavorable season of the year, lest, by remaining, they should all be cruelly murdered. This final act of violence occupied several days.

On the seventh of November, says the Prophet, in his journal, the shores of the river "began to be lined on both sides of the ferry with men, women, and children, goods,

wagons, chests, provisions, etc.; while the ferrymen were busily employed in crossing them over; and when night again closed upon the Saints, the wilderness had much the appearance of a camp-meeting. Hundreds of people were seen in the open air, around their fires, while the rain descended in torrents. Husbands were inquiring for their wives, and women for their husbands; parents for children, and children for parents. Some had the good fortune to escape with their family, household goods, and some provisions; while others knew not of the fate of their friends, and had lost all their goods. The scene was indescribable, and would have melted the hearts of any people on earth, except the blind oppressor, and prejudiced and ignorant bigot. Next day the company increased and they were chiefly engaged in felling small cottonwood trees and erecting them into temporary cabins, so that when night came on, they had the appearance of a village of wigwams, and the night being clear, the occupants began to enjoy some degree of comfort." While the Saints were encamped here, a wonderful meteoric shower occurred, which frightened the mob while it encouraged the Saints.

As soon as they could, this body of "Mormons" crossed the river, homeless and friendless and stripped of nearly all their earthly possessions, into Clay county, just north of Jackson, trusting that their reception there would be less unwelcome than it had been among the people they were leaving. Just why they went to Clay instead of some other county is, it appears, that they had been prohibited from settling in any other of the adjacent counties. Those who had sought refuge elsewhere had been compelled either to return or to go into the northern county.

The suffering and material loss sustained by the Saints in this Jackson county trouble were great. Of their hardships we have already spoken in part. But this was by no

means ended when the main body crossed the river. The unrelenting Missourians did not abandon the chase for "Mormon" victims till every one of these had been driven from the county. At Independence two or three old men had thought that their age might shield them from the brutality of their enemies, but they had over-estimated the humanity of the mob, for they were beaten and turned out to join their fellow-exiles. "On November 23rd the mob drove out a little settlement of some twenty families living about fifteen miles from Independence, compelling women and children to depart on immediate notice." As late as February, 1834, three of the brethren who lingered obscurely in the county were beaten over the head with chairs, and afterwards dragged out of their houses and left for dead. The loss of property, too, must have been very great on the part of this body of more than twelve hundred persons, notwith standing they were poor. They practically lost nearly all the land for which they had paid, and more than two hundred houses which they had built went up in flames.

CHAPTER V

HOPE DEFERRED

Reception of the Exiles.

The generous people of Clay county, on the north side of the Missouri, gave the exiles a temporary home. They viewed with indignation and horror the outrages which their Jackson county neighbors had heaped upon the "Mormons," and when they saw these homeless wanderers stripped of their property and sent ruthlessly forth to seek a less inhospitable resting place, their hearts were touched.

Not that the inhabitants of Clay entertained any love for the "Mormons," but rather because they disliked them less than their bloody-minded neighbors. Practically the same class of people had settled this that occupied the southern county; but there were more honorable men to guide public sentiment in the former place. It has ever been thus in the history of the Saints. Whenever they have suffered persecution, it has been because a few designing men, whether ministers or politicians, have incited the blind and ignorant zeal of the people to the commission of deeds which their own baseness conceived, but which they would hesitate to commit. In Jackson the chief officers of the county—indeed, nearly all of them were implicated,—assisted by the Lieutenant-Governor of the State and the jealous ministry, who could unite only on such a proposition as this, were the real instigators of this piece of barbarity. But these leaders did not, with few exceptions, execute their designs. This they left for the irresponsible common people to do. So that if any harm threatened them, each, like Macbeth, could declare, "Thou canst not say I did it!" But it was different in Clay county. Here there were at least a few honorable men

who shrank from these deeds of bloodguiltiness, and who had the manhood to step forward to guide public opinion. It was these men who, as we shall see later, adjusted the difficulties that arose subsequently between the Saints and their neighbors in the county, and prevented thereby a repetition of the scenes of violence that had occurred in Jackson.

So the Saints found here a temporary resting-place. Every vacant house in the county was given over to the exiles. The men were employed on the farms, and, indeed, at every other form of work to which they could put their hands. Some of the women taught school, others obtained employment in the families of the well-to-do farmers. The Saints generally, having been plundered of their property, were in almost utter destitution. In this way, however, they sought, not without joy, to retrieve their fortunes. Some rented farms, some who could afford it bought small pieces of land; and thus, by continuous industry, it was not long till they were pretty well recovered from their sad plight.

But what was of benefit to the Saints materially, appeared likely to prove their undoing spiritually. They were in a scattered condition; and one great source of unity in "Mormonism" is social intercourse. Here families were broken up, children having gone almost from under the charge of the parents. So that family prayers and those other sacred ceremonies of the hearth could not be readily attended to. Then they were unable, except in a few cases where small cottage meetings were held, to meet with their leaders, mingle freely with their brethren and sisters, and partake of the sacrament. Hence they were almost from under the influence, too, of the authorities of the Church. Of course, they were bound together by a common faith, and by persecution which all had endured alike with patience and fortitude. But, after all, the marvel is, not that the Saints grew careless

with respect to their religious duties, but rather that they did not altogether forget these duties,cast aside their religion as a constant source of grief and persecution, and become utterly lost among their surroundings. Herein consists one of the indications of the strange and mysterious powers which this religion exerts over the lives of its adherents.

This scene, and others similar to it, exhibit in part "the real miracle" of "Mormonism." Here were twelve hundred people of diverse ancestry and training, living almost upon the kindness of their new-found friends till, as they hoped, they should be restored to their homes and property, from which they had been unjustly and cruelly expelled, after having so long looked forward to this as a land of promise to them—here were these men and women refusing to give up their religion or their hopes in a future Zion. They might have turned against their faith and exclaimed: "Our creed is the sole cause of our calamities. Before we knew it, we were at peace with the world. Now, every man's hand is turned against us. We have forfeited our good names among our friends; we are vilified; we have been robbed of all that our hands have hardly earned. We had hoped to find in Jackson county a permanent home, a land of peace, a place of safety. Instead, we found a sword and exile. Our hopes have turned to gall and wormwood. Let us therefore abandon this faith. We will no longer believe in new revelation, in the miraculous character of the Nephite Record, in the divine mission of the modern Prophet, or in the delusive hopes of this Promised Land. Then our good names will come back to us; we shall regain our homes; we shall again live at peace with men." But they did not do this. Perhaps even the thought of doing it did not occur to them; or, if it did, they thrust it away as treason to God and the cause of Truth. The whole circumstance, therefore, exhibits

a faith such as the world has rarely witnessed. Truly, "Mormonism" is a religion of power and vitality!

In accepting the hospitality of these kind people, however, the Saints had no intention of remaining in Clay county permanently. There is no reason, however, why they should not have stayed there if they were so disposed. In a free country like ours, where the rights of the people are protected in every State, there could not be the slightest legal or moral objection to their permanent settlement there, so long as they did not interfere with the rights of those who were already in the county. But the Saints had not the least intention of remaining there. They fully expected to be restored to their homes in Jackson.

There are two things that go to show this. In the first place, there was to them a sacredness in the land of Independence which forbade them ever to think of leaving it. To them it was the Land of Promise, the place where the New Jerusalem will be built. The very thought of leaving this sacred land was painful in the extreme. Whatever opposition, therefore, manifested itself here, they must not forsake Zion. In the next place, they fully expected the government, either state or national, to restore them to their homes. They did not suppose that the state or nation would see twelve hundred people robbed and driven from their homes, without making an effort to set things right. In this matter, however, they were mistaken. They were destined, not only not to return to their Zion, but to be driven from the State where their hopes centered, far away from the scenes of violence and bloodshed in Missouri; and were, moreover, to see that there was insufficient justice and honor in the State to give them back the property which a lawless band of plunderers had taken from them.

With this hope of soon returning to their homes, the Saints set about manfully to secure that return.

At the Feet of Judge, Governor, and President.

The State officials, when they heard of these "outrageous acts of unparalleled violence," seemed anxious to reinstate the Saints in their homes. R. W. Wells, the attorney-general, corresponded with the attorneys of the Church upon the subject. He informed them that if the Saints desired to return, the State militia would be called out for that purpose. He suggested, also, that the Saints organize themselves into a company of militia, and that, if they applied soon enough they might obtain State arms. These were most likely the sentiments also of the Governor; for he and Wells had been in consultation over the matter, and besides, he had requested Judge Ryland to furnish him with information concerning the actions of the mob. The judge expressed his willingness to have the guilty ones brought to trial, if the Saints would prefer the charges, which they proceeded at once to do. According to the expressed wishes of the Saints, the court of inquiry was postponed till the regular term.

Meantime, in December, they prepared a petition to the Governor in which they set forth, in great detail, the wrongs which they had suffered and prayed to be reinstated in their homes, and, when reinstated to be protected by a detachment of troops. This latter step, they reasoned, would be necessary in order that they might not be driven again. To this the Governor replied that he was willing to take steps towards resettling them upon their lands but did not have power to keep troops near to protect them from further violence. They had the right, he said, to arm themselves at the expense of the State, when organized into a company of State militia. His reasoning in this matter of his lack of power to protect the Saints, appears rather fallacious; for the laws of the State expressly gave the Governor power "in case of actual or threatened invasion, insurrection, or war,

or public danger, or *other emergency*, to call forth into actual service such portion of the militia as he may deem expedient." But he chose, for some reason, to interpret this to mean merely calling them out, not retaining them in actual service.

In February the circuit court convened at Independence. The Saints, according to Judge Ryland's request, had preferred charges against certain citizens of Jackson county, and twelve leading elders had been subpoenæd as State witnesses. With a strong guard, under the command of Captain Atchison, they went to Independence and lodged in the "Block House." Here Mr. Willis, who had been sent by the Governor to assist the circuit attorney, and Mr. Reese waited upon the brethren after considerable delay and quietly informed them that there was no further reason to hope for criminal procedure against the mob. Both men had manifestly got under the influence of the mobbers. Soon afterwards Captain Atchison received orders to remove his guard, because they were no longer needed. Thus ended the only effort on the part of Missouri officials to execute the law and redress the wrongs of the Saints. They were, for the most part, very profuse in expressions of patriotic sentiments; they had telling words of eulogy for the laws of the State and the rights of the people; but they lacked either the desire or the moral courage to put those high-flown sentiments into action that would relieve the oppressed and vindicate the law by punishing the guilty.

These efforts failing, the Lord instructed the exiled Saints to petition the Governor of the State and also the President of the United States. They therefore prepared another petition to the Governor, enclosing a copy of the revelation (section 101) concerning the redemption of Zion. But nothing ever came of their letter. They did likewise in their petition to the President. They related to him the

wrongs which they had suffered in Jackson county, the attempts which they had made to obtain redress, and the result of these attempts. In their letter they enclosed the reply of Governor Dunklin concerning his lack of authority in the matter of protecting the Saints. In May they were told that the offenses of which they complained were violations of State laws, not laws of the United States; and therefore the general government could do nothing for them.

One more thought gave hope to the Saints. The legislature might act. When that body met, the Governor, in his message, called attention to the Jackson county outrages, and suggested that it was for them to do what they thought best in the matter. The Saints petitioned the legislature to pass a law reinstating them in their homes and protecting them when reinstated. But the law-makers took no heed of the petition or the Governor's message on this point. Thus every shred of hope was snatched from the weary and homeless Saints.

Zion's Camp.

No; not every shred. There was one remaining. The Lord had commanded them to entreat, one after another, the heads of government, state and national, and if they failed to get redress for their wrongs, he declared that he would "come forth out of his hiding-place, and in his fury vex the nation." In February, 1834, the Lord had commanded Joseph to call the young and middle-aged men in the Church to go up to Missouri and redeem Zion. Surely, if this should fail, there need be entertained no further hope of a reinstatement till a remote period.

In the same month steps were taken to fulfill this revelation. Joseph and other leading brethren went to the various eastern branches of the Church advocating this movement. They rehearsed graphically the persecutions of the

Saints in Missouri, and advised the young and middle-aged men to help in the redemption of Zion. Portage, a small town about fifty miles from Kirtland, was appointed as the gathering place. Thither all who desired to enlist were sent to await the day of starting. Early in May, 1834, a company of about one hundred and fifty men, with wagons filled with provisions for their journey as well as for the relief of the destitute Saints in Missouri, departed for the land of Zion. This number was increased to two hundred by the time the company reached Missouri.

It must have been a strange sight, this body of armed men in time of peace, silent and reserved, marching in orderly procession, with their wagon-loads of provisions through Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois towards the West. The strictest order was maintained throughout. Regularly at the sounding of the trumpet the various companies knelt to pray, had breakfast, and began the march; and this trumpet sounded the orders during the day. Every man kept absolutely mute respecting their destiny or identity, whenever the curious spectators ventured to inquire. Once or twice they were threatened with violence, and attempts were made to prevent them from passing on their journey; but on they went undismayed, with the same silence and order.

This was the appearance to those who looked on. Within, the situation was not so cheering. Dissension arose. Sylvester Smith and Lyman Wight attempted to divide the camp, but were unsuccessful, except in that they entertained, or caused others to entertain, feelings not in harmony with the spirit of their mission. Once Smith childishly refused to divide his food with some of the brethren. At another time both men tried to introduce discord over a question as to whether they should or should not camp close to timber. Considerable bad feelings at one time and another, were manifested over the most trivial matters. Joseph reproved

the discontented brethren. He told them that a scourge would come upon the camp in consequence of which they "should die like sheep with the rot." This prophecy, as we shall see, was fulfilled with frightful literalness.

Upon reaching Salt River, the camp despatched Parley P. Pratt and Orson Hyde to call upon Governor Dunklin and ask for a military force sufficient to reinstate the Saints in their homes. In the interview which these brethren had with the chief executive, the Governor expressed himself as being convinced that the Saints had been unjustly dealt with in the Jackson county courts, but feared to excite civil war by calling out any force to aid the camp. He advised that the exiled Saints sell their lands to their persecutors. "We will hold no terms," exclaimed the irate brethren, "with land pirates and murderers!" This was in June.

The Prophet heard the report of the brethren on their return. The camp appoached Richmond, through the streets of which they passed in the quiet of daybreak, owing to threats that had been made during the previous day. They intended to reach Clay county late in the day, but night found them encamped between two forks of Fishing river.

Meanwhile, the enemies of the Saints were not idle Hearing of Zion's Camp, they determined to prevent the fulfilment of its mission. A company of two hundred of the old-time mob had been organized in Jackson county to go against "Joe Smith's army." At the fords of Fishing river this band was to be joined by a party of sixty from Richmond and by another of seventy from Clay county. Five men rode, in the evening, into the camp of the Saints, and with profane insolence informed the brethren that they would "catch hell before morning."

But a furious rain storm prevented their evil work. At sundown there was observed a small cloud in the sky, which grew darker and larger as the evening fell. "In twenty

minutes the whole heavens were inky-blackness, which now and then seemed to split by the vivid streams of lightning." Big trees were wrenched from the "firm set earth;" large hail stones mowed down all vegetation; and Fishing river rose forty feet during the night. The proposed union of the mob did not, therefore, occur; for these forces were violently and suddenly dispersed. A boat-load of forty mobocrats, however, suffered the bitter pelting of the rain all night. Thus the plans of the mob came to nothing, and thus was the hand of God manifested to protect His servants.

Next day, the camp having moved to a better situation, Colonel Sconce and two other leading men in Ray county came into the camp. He was one of the number who had entertained evil designs on Zion's camp. He frankly confessed his belief that there was "an Almighty power with this people." Joseph told them the extent to which the Saints had innocently suffered, and the object which the camp of Zion had in coming all this distance. The Colonel and his companions departed with a promise to correct as far as they were able, the false impressions that were out respecting the intentions of Zion's army.

Attempts at Arbitration.

The next day Cornelius Gillium, the sheriff of Clay county, had an interview with the Prophet, in which he elicited the following facts respecting the object of Joseph and his companions. It was the purpose to reinstate the Saints in their lands in Jackson county, by order of the chief executive of the state, if that could be obtained.* They were per-

*"He [Jesse Smith] left this place the 5th of May, last, in company with myself and everal others, with the intention of purchasing land in the Western country; and also of sending assistance to the innocent and afflicted."—Joseph Smith, the Prophet, in an unpublished letter, dated Kirtland, Ohio, Aug. 16, 1834, to Elias Smith, his uncle, informing him of his son's death in Missouri, in Zion's Camp.

fectly willing for "twelve disinterested men, six to be chosen by each party," to arbitrate the difficulty between the Saints and their enemies in Jackson County. They expressed themselves as being of peaceful intentions. These facts were published over the signatures of six brethren, including Joseph.

Before this, arbitration as a means of adjusting matters, had been suggested. The Governor had recommended such an adjustment of affairs, having advised the Saints to sell their lands and move elsewhere. So that this way of settling the trouble was much discussed even before the camp of Zion had reached Missouri.

But justice for the Saints from their old neighbors was out of the question. On the sixteenth of June about one thousand people met at Liberty to inquire into the matter of peaceably adjusting their difficulties with the people of Jackson county. A committee from Jackson county proposed the following: The old settlers will buy the lands of the "Mormons" with the improvements thereon, the value to be determined by three arbitrators chosen by each party. Twelve "Mormons" are to go with the arbitrators to show them the land, and any other "Mormons" may go whom the arbitrators may desire to ask, the people of Jackson to guarantee entire safety to the "Mormons" so acting. Then, after the report of the committee, the people of Jackson county will pay to the "Mormons" the value of land and improvements with one hundred per cent. added thereon, within thirty days provided the "Mormons" agree not to settle in the county thereafter. Or, the Saints might buy the land in Jackson county under the same conditions. The meeting, at which there were a number of brethren, broke up in confusion. The delegation from Jackson county were answered, before leaving Liberty, that they should know definitely by the twentieth whether the Saints would buy or sell.

As the delegation were on their way home, one of the leaders named Campbell, was heard to say: "The eagles and buzzards shall eat my flesh, if I don't fix Joe Smith and his army so that their skins won't hold shucks before two days are passed." And the "eagles and buzzards" did eat his flesh; for, in crossing the river the boat sank like so much lead, though the river was perfectly calm. At least seven out of about twelve were drowned. Campbell's body was found, three weeks afterwards, on a pile of driftwood, with the flesh half eaten.

When the proposition made by the Jackson county delegation was laid before the Saints, it was rejected by them. On its face it was feasible enough. But it in reality required them to surrender their rights as American citizens. Moreover, the Saints clung, and were willing always to cling, to the thought that the land of Zion was sacred to them; it was the direct gift of God. As to buying the land of their enemies, everyone knew that this was impossible, on account of the poverty of the Saints. They proposed, however, that twelve disinterested persons should decide upon the valuation of the property of such persons as would not live with the "Mormons," and that these same men determine the loss sustained by the latter in the persecutions, the second amount to be deducted from the first. To this the Jackson county people would not consent. And here the matter of "arbitration" ended, and the Saints were to lose everything.

A Prophecy Fulfilled.

And so Zion was not redeemed. After the departure of Gillium from the camp of Zion's army, the Lord revealed the reason of this failure. Zion might have been redeemed even now, said the Lord, if it had not been for the transgression of my people.

And Zion's Camp disbanded, but not before the scourge,

predicted by the Prophet, had fallen upon them in terrible judgment. The scourge was the cholera. It was about the middle of June when it appeared. Sixty-eight of the brethren were attacked during the week. Joseph and Hyrum, in trying to turn away the judgment of God, were themselves taken down with it. Sidney Gilbert, who, while in perfect health, had declared to the Prophet, a few hours before, that he would rather die than go on a mission, was stricken with the fell disease, and died in horrible agony. Finally, the scourge was turned away and the camp of Israel was again well, after suffering an affliction under which the righteous were touched as the less worthy had been.

In having thus to forsake their homes and having their hopes in the redemption of Zion blighted, the Saints have not ceased to look forward to the time when they shall enjoy the land of peace, and when all the purposes of the Lord respecting the land shall be accomplished. Though their hopes for the immediate redemption of Zion were blighted, these hopes served only as precursors to a brighter and more enduring hope. And the Saints are still looking forward to Zion in Jackson county, Missouri. Recently, the promise of the Lord to redeem the land of Zion "by money and not by the shedding of blood" began its realization in the purchase by the Church of twenty-six and three-fourths acres of the original sixty-three owned by the Church in 1831.

CHAPTER VI

IN SPIRIT AND IN TRUTH

We return now to Kirtland. During the time occupied by the events which we have related in the two preceding chapters, great things were occurring at the Ohio town, in compensation, as it appears, for the distress in connection with the now departed Zion.

Some Further Organizations.

On the 17th of February, 1834, fifty-eight persons—twenty-four high priests, including the First Presidency, seventeen elders, four priests, and thirteen members—met at the home of the Prophet. The high priests present, with Joseph at the head, "proceeded to organize the High Council of the Church of Christ, which was to consist of twelve High Priests, and one or three Presidents, as the case might require." The purpose of this organization was expressed to be to settle "important difficulties which might arise in the Church, which could not be settled by the Church or the Bishop's council to the satisfaction of the parties." The following high priests were chosen to constitute this first high council: Joseph Smith, Sen., John Smith, Joseph Coe, John Johnson, Martin Harris, John S. Carter, Jared Carter, Oliver Cowdery, Samuel H. Smith, Orson Hyde, Sylvester Smith, and Luke Johnson.

At this meeting the details of procedure at trials were determined upon. The Prophet Joseph was President, with Sidney Rigdon and Frederick G. Williams as his counselors. The President might act alone in the absence of the other two, or both or either of them might act in the absence of

the President. Vacancies in the high council, whether by death, removal, or transgression, were to be filled "by nominataion of the President or Presidents, and sanctioned by the voice of a general council of High Priests, convened for that purpose, to act in the name of the Church." It was decided as the duty of the high council, wherever organized regularly, "to cast lots by numbers, and thereby ascertain, who of the twelve shall speak first, commencing with number one, and so in succession to number twelve." If the case before them be not difficult, and this is to be decided by the twelve councilors, two only shall be appointed to speak; but if it be difficult, four are to speak; and if very difficult, six; but in no case shall more than six be appointed. And "every man is to speak according to equity and justice." Those councilors who draw even numbers are "to stand up in behalf of the accused, and prevent insult or injustice." In all cases, however, the accuser and the accused must be given the privilege of speaking for themselves before the council after the evidence has been heard and the councilors appointed to speak have finished. Then the president is to give his decision, calling upon the twelve councilors to sustain it by vote. A majority is necessary to sustain the decision. If, however, any of those who have not spoken discover an error in the president's decision, the case is to have a re-hearing, and if new light be thrown upon it, the decision is to be altered accordingly.

Such was the organization of the first high council of the Church—one part of the admirable sysem of our ecclesiastical judiciary. Since then, the rapid and extensive growth of the Church has required the organization of a high council in each stake of Zion. But essentially the same rules of procedure are followed now as were used by this first high council. The President of the Church, however, is no longer president of this organization; this office is now

held by the president of the Stake in which the high council is situated, and his two counselors assist him in his presidency here. This court seems to be mainly one of appellate rather than of original jurisdiction; that is, it deals chiefly with cases that are appealed to it from the bishop's court. At present in our highly organized state, there is an appeal from this court to that of the First Presidency in certain specified cases; otherwise it must prove the end of controversy.

It was just one year after this that the quorum of the Twelve Apostles was organized. On Sunday, February 8th, 1835, after the mobbings at Missouri and the journey of Zion's Camp thither, the Prophet Joseph called Brigham and Joseph Young to his home and related to them a vision he had received.

"Brethren," he said, "I have seen those men who died in Zion's Camp, in Missouri; and the Lord knows, if I get a mansion as bright as theirs, I ask no more."

And he wept. Recovering, he asked these two men "to notify all the brethren living in the branches, within a reasonable distance from this place, to meet at a general conference on Saturday next. I shall then and there appoint twelve Special Witnesses, to open the door of the Gospel to foreign nations; and you," he said, pointing to Brigham, "will be one of them." This announcement "produced in the minds of the two elders present a great sensation and many reflections." Joseph then expressed himself very feelingly upon the matter, detailing the duties which would be required of these new officers.

On the following Saturday the conference appointed was held at Kirtland. "President Smith then stated that the meeting had been called because God had commanded it; and it was made known to him by vision and by the Holy Spirit." The duty of naming the first apostles having been imposed years before this, by revelaion, upon the three wit-

nesses to the Book of Mormon, these men proceeded, in a second meeting held on the same day, to choose the men who were to constitute the first quorum of Twelve in this dispensation. Their names, as then selected, are: Lyman E. Johnson, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, David W. Patten, Luke S. Johnson, William E. M'Lellin, John F. Boynton, Orson Pratt, William Smith, Thomas B. Marsh, and Parley P. Pratt. The first three were ordained at this meeting by the three witnesses to the Book of Mormon, their ordination and blessing being confirmed immediately afterwards by the First Presidency. On the following day, being a continuation of the conference, the next six members of the quorum were ordained; on the 21st, Parley P. Pratt; and on the 26th David W. Patten and Orson Pratt. Subsequently, this first quorum was rearranged, the oldest being given the first place, and so on down to the youngest. The list then stood: Thomas B. Marsh, David W. Patten, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, William E. M'Lillian, Parley P. Pratt, Luke S. Johnson, William Smith, Orson Pratt, John P. Boynton, and Lyman E. Johnson. On the 4th of May they left Kirtland on their first mission.

All these men were chosen from those who went up, in Zion's Camp, to Missouri after the expulsion of the Saints from Jackson county. Indeed, one of the main objects the Lord had in this movement was to furnish an opportunity to try the integrity of the brethren. At the meeting held after this Joseph, in his address before the elders, said that God "could not organize His Kingdom with twelve men to open the gospel door to the nations of the earth, unless he took them from a body of men who had offered their lives, and who had made as great a sacrifice as did Abraham."

Oliver Cowdery at this time gave the twelve a charge, including what Parley P. Pratt calls the "Oath and Covenant of Apostleship." He told them that he and the other breth-

ren, ever since the Lord had made it known that there should be Twelve Apostles, had looked forward prayerfully to the day when this promise should be fulfilled. Since the Apostles were Special Witnesses, he declared, they should never cease striving till they had seen God face to face. He predicted their rejection by men, but they should not lose heart on that account. The world must be warned, and if they refused to perform their full duty, others would take up the labor, and they should lose their crowns. Their faith must be even like that of Enoch and the Brother of Jared. Taking each one of the twelve by the hand, he said: "Do you with full purpose of heart take part in this ministry, to proclaim the gospel with all diligence, with these your brethren, according to the tenor and intent of the charge you have received?" And each answered that he did.

This quorum of apostles thus organized, is the second quorum in the Church. As we have seen, they are called "special witnesses of the name of Christ in all the world; thus differing from other officers in the Church in the duties of their calling. And they form a quorum, equal in authority and power to the three Presidents," that is, the First Presidency of the Church. They open the door of the gospel to all nations. Thus Heber C. Kimball and Orson Hyde opened the British mission; John Taylor, the French; Lorenzo Snow the Swiss; Erastus Snow the Scandinavian; and Heber J. Grant, the Japanese.

Up to the present time (1905), forty-four persons have held a standing in the quorum of the Twelve in this dispensation. Of this number, eleven have been expelled from the quorum, all but three before the Church had come West in 1847. The quorum as at present constituted is: Francis M. Lyman, John Henry Smith, Heber J. Grant, Rudger Clawson, Reed Smoot, Hyrum M. Smith, George Albert Smith,

Charles W. Penrose, George F. Richards, Orson F. Whitney, David O. McKay, and Antony W. Ivins.

Not long after this organization of the Twelve, the first quorum of Seventy in this dispensation was organized. On the same occasion that the Prophet informed Elders Brigham and Joseph Young of the purpose to organize a quorum of Apostles, he made known that Seventies should also be chosen. And "the Lord," he said, turning to Joseph, "has made you a president of the Seventies." It had been very generally known by the Saints from the beginning that at some time in the future Twelve Apostles would be chosen, for as early as June, 1829, the Lord had so declared to Joseph; but no such revelation had been made public with respect to the Seventies. Hence it is not surprising that it "caused these brethren to marvel."

"On the 28th of February," says the Prophet's journal, "the Church in council assembled, commenced selecting individuals to be Seventies, from the number of those who went up to Zion with me in the Camp." Seventy persons were chosen, seven of whom were designated as presidents. The names of these latter were: Joseph Young, Levi W. Hancock, James Foster, Daniel S. Miles, Josiah Butterfield, Salmon Gee, and John Gaylord.

It never seems to have been the intention to limit this class of organizations to one single quorum, nor, indeed, to any particular number of quorums; for the Prophet, scarcely a month after the formation of the quorum, said at a meeting, the minutes of which are now in the Church historian's office in the handwriting of William E. M'Lellin: "If the first Seventy are all employed, and there is a call for more laborers, it will be the duty of the seven presidents of the first Seventy to call and ordain other Seventy and send them forth to labor in the vineyard, until, if needs be, they set apart seven times seventy, and even until there are one hun-

dren and forty-four thousand thus set apart for the ministry." According to this there could be more than two thousand quorums; and even this large number does not appear from the spirit of the statement made by the Prophet to be given as a limit, but simply as an indication of the immense force of the foreign ministry—a figure of speech, in fact, by which the definite is placed for the indefinite.

This is the third quorum of the Church in order of authority. Like the Twelve Apostles, the Seventies are called "to be special witnesses unto the Gentiles and in all the world," always, however, under the direction of the Twelve. They thus, with the apostles, constitute the standing foreign ministry of the Church. "And they form a quorum equal in authority to that of the twelve special witnesses or apostles." Their duties, both in this and in the Christian dispensation, are much the same as those required of the Twelve. The First Seven Presidents of Seventy at present (1905) are: Seymour B. Young, B. H. Roberts, George Reynolds, Jonathan G. Kimball, Rulon S. Wells, Joseph W. McMurrin, and James H. Hart.

"In all other quorums of the high Priesthood," says Elder Roberts in a foot-note to the History of the Church (Vol. II., pp. 202, 204), "excepting the Twelve, the presidency consists of a president and two counselors, but the presidency of the quorum of Seventy consists of seven presidents, equal in authority. For the sake of order, however, precedence is recognized in seniority of ordination; that is, the senior president by ordination—not of age—presides in the council, and over the quorum; and in the event of his absence, then the next senior president by ordination has the right of initiative and presides, and so on down the line of presidents. The order established in the Church for the work of the foreign ministry is for Elders to travel two and two. This doubtless for the reason that the Lord would es-

tablish his work by the mouths of two witnesses at least, to say nothing of the pleasure that would be derived from the companionship subsisting between two Elders while traveling among strangers, and even among enemies. A quorum of Seventy, if sent out into the world as a body, is capable of realizing all the advantages conceivable from organiztion. It can be broken up into just seven groups of ten members; with each group would be a president; these groups can be sub-divided into five pairs, who can scatter out into various neighborhoods, occasionally meet in conference with the group of ten to which the respective pairs belonged, and at regular intervals, the several groups could be called together for quorum conference. Thus a quorum of Seventy can be a veritable flying column, making proclamation of the gospel, the like of which is to be found nowhere outside the Church of Christ."

The House of the Lord.

The Latter-day Saints have always been a great temple-building people—not of mere houses of worship, but holier places, where the most sacred ordinances of the gospel may be administered. In this respect, they are much like the ancient Jews and the Nephites.

The first temple built by the Saints in this Dispensation was at Kirtland. In December, 1832, the Lord had said in a revelation (section 88, verse 119) through the Prophet: "Establish a house, even a house of prayer, a house of fasting, a house of faith, a house of learning, a house of glory, a house of order, a house of God." Nearly six months later another revelation (section 95) was given in which the Saints were reproved for not having "considered the great commandment that I have given unto you concerning the building of mine house." Under date of June 1st, the Prophet speaks of the interest of the people in the proposed

building "continuing to increase," and of the "great preparations" that were making to erect the house of the Lord. Previously to this last date, however, a meeting of high priests had been held at Kirtland in which the matter was considered, and a committee of three—Hyrum Smith, Jared Carter, and Reynolds Cahoon—was appointed to obtain subscriptions. A call for means, issued by this committee, was responded to very generously by the Saints, both at Kirtland and at Zion. Another conference of the high priests, held on June 6th, instructed the committee to proceed immediately to make arrangements for building material. The corner stones were laid on July 23—the very day on which the Saints in Missouri were preparing to leave Jackson county—and the building was completed in March, 1836. In all, the cost was about seventy-five thousand dollars.

The erection of such a building was a gigantic undertaking for the Saints at that time. Most of them were poor; indeed, nearly all of them were. Heber C. Kimball, in speaking of these days, says: "The Church was in a state of poverty and distress, in consequence of which it appeared almost impossible that the commandments [so far as related to the building of the temple] could be fulfilled." But the faith of the Saints was great, and they erected the house of the Lord; they were willing to make any sacrifice for the gospel. The giving of means to any religious enterprise when these are needed for personal requirements, is one of the severest tests of faith. And these people, when thus tried, were not found wanting.

But aside from this poverty, they were subjected to constant annoyance from their enemies, during the progress of the work on the temple. Elder Kimball, in the sentence following the one we have just quoted, declares: "Our enemies were raging and threatening destruction upon us, and we had to guard ourselves night after night, and for weeks

were not permitted to take off our clothes, and were obliged to lay with our fire-locks in our arms." These things are testified to also by Eliza R. Snow, who was a resident of Kirtland all through these days. Had they not thus protected the building, the walls which they had put up during the day would have been torn down during the night. But notwithstanding their poverty and distress, they completed the structure which had been planned by the Lord himself, thus exhibiting to all men the toil and sacrifice and privation which they were willing to endure for the truth, and sanctifying that truth by their devotion and superhuman exertions.

This famous building has often been described. It stood upon the most elevated spot of ground in the neighborhood, a solemn and imposing guardian of that part of northern Ohio which borders on the Lake. The dimensions on the outside were: length, eighty feet; width, sixty feet; height to the square, fifty feet. A tower one hundred and ten feet high surmounted the whole. The material of which it was constructed was stone and brick. There were four vestries in front, and five rooms in the attic. In the centre of the main hall stood four pulpits, one above another, the seats extending from north to south. Those on the west were to be occupied by the presiding officers of the Melchisedek priesthood; those on the east, by the Aaronic. Each pulpit was separable from the others by "curtains of white painted canvas, which might be let down and drawn up at pleasure." The four corners were to be occupied by the four divisions of the choir, seated in elevated pews. The room might be made into four, each with a pulpit and a choir, by drawing curtains intersecting at right angles, so that four meetings could be held simultaneously without mutual disturbance. This peculiar arrangement of the ground-floor, says Eliza R. Snow, from whose writings we have taken the above details,

"made it more than ordinarily impressive, so much so that a sense of awe seemed to rest upon all who entered; not only the Saints, but strangers also manifested a high degree of reverential feeling." Well might these self-sacrificing and devoted people feel proud of their sacred temple.

The dedicatory services and the blessings received at the time and also afterwards on several occasions were of such a glorious character as to make the Saints forget their difficulties or to regard them as incomparably trifling.

At about seven o'clock on Sunday morning, March 27th, 1836, the people began to assemble for the dedication. This was an hour before the doors were open, so eager were the Saints to gain admittance. At eight o'clock the doors of the temple were thrown open, and President Smith, Rigdon, and Cowdery seated the congregation as they entered. Between nine and ten hundred were comfortably seated, and there were hundreds yet outside. These latter repaired to an adjacent school-house for the purpose of conducting other services. "I felt to regret," says the Prophet, in his journal, with quiet tenderness and sympathy, "that any of my brethren and sisters should be deprived of the meeting."

The assembly inside the temple was arranged in the most orderly manner, the priesthood occupying their places each according to his office, and the lay members in parts of the house allotted to them. Services began at nine, by the reading of the ninety-sixth and the twenty-fourth Psalm by President Rigdon, who also offered the opening prayer and preached the main discourse, taking as a text the twentieth verse of the eighteenth chapter of Matthew. Joseph was then sustained as Prophet and seer, by a rising vote, of the priesthood first, each quorum in its turn, and then of the whole congregation. An intermission of twenty minutes followed. When the services were resumed, the Prophet made a short address, after which the Presidency of the Church

—Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and Frederick G. Williams —were sustained, as also were the Twelve, the Seventies, the high council, that in Zion as well as that in Kirtland, the Bishops of Kirtland and Zion, and the presidents of Elders, Priests, Teachers, and Deacons. The dedicatory prayer, which had been given the Prophet by revelation (sec. 109), was then offered.

"President Frederick G. Williams," says Joseph, speaking of that part of the services after the prayer, "arose and tesified that while President Rigdon was making his first prayer, an angel entered the window and took his seat between Father Smith and himself, and remained there during the prayer. President David Whimer also saw angels in the house. President Hyrum Smith made some appropriate remarks congratulating those who had endured so many toils and privations to build the house. President Rigdon then made a few appropriate closing remarks, and a short prayer, at the close of which we sealed the proceedings of the day by shouting hosanna, hosanna, hosanna, to God and the Lamb, three times, sealing it each time with amen, amen, and amen. President Brigham Young gave a short address in tongues, and David W. Patten interpreted, and gave a short exhortation in tongues himself, after which I blessed the congregation in the name of the Lord." Then the assembly dispersed, having been there till past four o'clock in the afternoon, and "having manifested," adds the Prophet, "the most quiet demeanor during the whole exercise."

In the evening the quorums of the priesthood met, to the number of more than four hundred, for instruction in the ordinances of washing of feet, practiced by the Savior and his apostles. "Brother George A. Smith," we are informed by the Prophet's history, "arose and began to prophesy, when a noise was heard like the sound of a rushing mighty

wind, which filled the Temple, and all the congregation simultaneously arose, being moved upon by an invisible power; many began to speak in tongues and prophesy; others saw glorious visions; and I beheld that the Temple was filled with angels, which fact I declared to the congregation. The people of the neighborhood came running together (hearing an unusual sound within; and seeing a bright light like a pillar of fire resting upon the Temple), and were astonished at what was taking place." It was eleven o'clock when this meeting was dismissed.

It may be interesting to recall the hymns that were sung on this occasion and may add to our realization of the details of the services. The first was one composed by Parley P. Pratt, beginning: "Ere long the veil will rend in twain." "O happy souls, who pray," the composition of William W. Phelps; "Now let us rejoice in the day of salvation," and "This earth was once a garden place," by the same author, were sung at the first sessions, as also "How pleased and blessed was I," by Watts. After the dedicatory prayer was offered, that stirring hymn, the composition of Phelps, which is still sung with great feeling in our meetings, "The Spirit of God like a fire is burning," was rendered by the choir.

Other Visions in the Temple.

Passing by a great many manifestations of God's power and goodness in visions, revelations, prophesyings, and speaking in tongues to the elders and Saints generally in this sacred house during the next few weeks, we come to one of the most important visions ever vouchsafed to man, and one, too, in which the comprehensiveness of the work of God is strikingly set forth.

On Sunday, April 3d, of this same year, a meeting was held in the temple. After the administration of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, Joseph with Oliver Cowdery "re-

tired to the pulpit, the veils being dropped," and engaged in solemn, silent prayer. They saw the Lord Jesus Christ "standing upon the breastwork of the pulpit, before them, and under his feet was a paved work of pure gold in color like amber. His eyes were as a flame of fire, the hair of His head was white like the pure snow, and His voice was as the rushing of great waters, even the voice of Jehovah, saying—I am the first and the last, I am he who liveth, I am he who was slain, I am your advocate with the Father. . . . . I have accepted this house, and my name shall be here, and I will manifest myself to my people in mercy in this house. Yea, I will appear unto my servants, and speak unto them with mine own voice, if my people will keep my commandments, and do not pollute this holy house."

After this vision closed, the heavens were again opened unto them. Moses appeared and bestowed upon them the keys of the gathering of Israel from the four parts of the earth, and the leading of the Ten Tribes from the land of the north. Then Elias appeared, and committed to their hands the keys of the dispensation of the gospel of Abraham, saying that in them and in their seed after them should all generations be blessed. Next Elijah the Prophet, he who was taken up without tasting death, stood before them, and delivered to them the keys by which the dead are redeemed and all the generations of man linked together into one family. This was he who should come before "the great and dreadful day of the Lord" in order that the hearts of the children might be turned to the fathers and those of the fathers turned towards the children; for if it were not so, "the earth would be smitten with a curse."

Than this message of the Prophet Elijah's one can scarcely point to anything more luminous upon the general purposes of God with respect to man. In "the beginning" the earth was created and man placed in his probationary

sphere. Since then myriads of men have lived and died here. Now, the gospel was given to save man from sin. But how many of these have received, or even heard of, the divine work? Comparatively few. According to the highest estimate, counting the Christian people as being in possession of the law of the Lord, only a trifle over thirty-one per cent. have obeyed the gospel. What will become of the countless hosts who have not heard and believed? Christianity has no answer. The most charitable view of the situation leaves the great majority of the race of man—God's creatures—without salvation. In other words, man by a single thoughtless act—the fall—has frustrated the whole schemes of salvation as devised by the great Jehovah; for Christ, as interpreted by modern religions, will miss the larger portion of the human family. What a comment, this, upon the wisdom, foresight, and justice, not to speak of the mercy, of the Almighty Father of men!

"Mormonism" reasons differently, and it does so in view of this vision of Elijah's. All men will be judged by the law of Christ in the gospel—there is no other. But in order to be punished or rewarded according to this law, obviously they must hear it and have their free agency to receive or reject it as the guide of their lives, whether here or hereafter. How can every man hear the word, when so many of them have died with out hearing it? The spirit and the body are the soul of man. This spirit is the immortal part; that part, namely, which thinks and feels and wills. At death, which is merely a separation of the body from the spirit, this eternal part goes into "Paradise," where it will have the law preached and where, having its free agency, it may adhere to or refuse the truth. Jesus, for instance, entered Paradise, in which were the antediluvians to whom Noah preached, and taught these spirits the same gospel which he had laid down his life for here, "that they might be judged like men in the flesh, but live like God in the spirit." But, how are these

persons, supposing they choose to live according to the higher law, to be saved without some ordinances of the gospel which we are taught here are indispensable to our salvation —such, for example, as baptism? The rites are performed for them by those in the flesh—just as Christ died for us because we were unable to die efficaciously for ourselves. The spirits in the world of spirits, then, have the privilege and the power to accept the gospel there, while those yet in the flesh perform all the necessary ordinances for them which they cannot perform for themselves; and this is the meaning of Elijah's message to Joseph the Prophet. Thus God's plan is not, after all, so narrow as to miss the vast majority of his creatures; but each will be saved in the degree of glory that his conduct, influenced by the atoning blood of Jesus, will merit. A transcendantly sublime and light-radiating thought, which harmonizes all the contradictions that man has imagined he detected in His purposes, but that were contradictions only in the interpretations of God's plan given out by an apostate church!

CHAPTER VII

THE PLACE OF THE JUDGMENT SEAT

A Peaceful Exodus.

Their resources for the redemption of Zion having been exhausted, the Missouri Saints now began to look about them for a new home. Under ordinary conditions, they would have little call, as home-seekers, to look beyond the limits of this northern county; for at that time its uneven but fertile surface of more than four hundred square miles was sparsely inhabited and would have afforded ample accommodations for the entire body of "Mormons" both here and in Ohio. But the Saints were not in Clay county under ordinary conditions. They were a peculiar people, poor on the whole, but not because they lacked industry and enterprise, with a religion and habits of thought and life extremely obnoxious to their neighbors. Besides there was an agreement between them and their newly-found friends, made at the time they were expelled from the southern county, that they would remain there only until they had recovered their former homes; and in the event of their failing to do this, they would move to another place. And nothing in the conduct of the "Mormons" can be construed as an intention to violate the terms of this compact. Meanwhile their Jackson county foes, with malignant hate singularly relentless, pursued them into the very precincts of friendship which they had established with their temporary protectors and the well-springs of which their enemies now sought to poison. Hence by the middle of the year 1836, a general sentiment against the Saints had been aroused in Clay county, and it became necessary for them to find another place of

settlement, after having remained here for about two and a half years.

It is quite probable that if the "Mormons" had not at this time indicated their purpose of leaving, and if, moreover, there had not been some honorable men here to guide public sentiment—something which had been woefully lacking in Jackson county,—they would have been again forcibly expelled. At a meeting held in June, 1834, at Liberty, for the purpose of arbitrating the differences between the Saints and their Jackson enemies, one Samuel Owens made an inflammatory address against the exiles, to which, however, General Doniphan replied counseling peace. A reverend gentleman, also, by the name of Riley, a Baptist preacher, declared that the "Mormons" had lived in Clay county long enough, and that they "must either clear out, or be cleared out." Whereupon, the chairman of the meeting, Mr. Thurman, said:

"Let us be republicans, let us honor our country, and not disgrace it like Jackson county. For God's sake don't disfranchise the Mormons. They are better citizens than many of the old inhabitants."

"That's a fact," shouted General Doniphan, jumping to his feet; "and as the Mormons have armed themselves," he continued in reference to Zion's camp which was then on the way to Missouri, "if they don't fight they are cowards."

The meeting broke up without accomplishing anything. Another meeting was held at the same place in June, 1836, at which a report was adopted demanding the fulfillment of the pledge which the "Mormons" had given when they came, to leave the county "whenever a respectable portion of the citizens should request it." The document made the usual objections to the new religionists: They had such a different faith from other people; "they were eastern men, whose manners, habits, customs, and even dialect were essentially

different from the Missourians;" they were non-slave holders; and, besides, it was commonly reported that they held constant communication with he Indians. "We do not vouch for the correctness of these statements," continued the report, "but whether they are true or false, the effect has been the same in exciting our community." It was therefore unanimously resolved, that "unless the people commonly called Mormons will agree to stop immediately the immigration of their people to this country, and take measures to remove themselves from it, a civil war is inevitable." The report went on to say: "We do not contend that we have the least right under the Constitution and laws of the country, to expel them by force. But we would indeed be blind, if we did not foresee that the first blow that is struck at this moment of deep excitement must and will speedily involve every individual in war, bearing ruin, woe, and desolation in its course. It matters but little how, where or by whom the war may begin, when the work of destruction commences, we must all be borne onward by the storm, or crushed beneath its fury."

On the first of July following, the Saints held a mass meeting, at which they formed a reply to the report adopted at the non-"Mormon" meeting. They expressed their appreciation of the kindness they had received at the hands of the Clay county inhabitants, but denied specifically every charge made against them in the report. They had never been disposed to interfere with slavery, and had always held themselves as ready as any one to defend the country from Indian attacks. "For the sake of friendship," continued their answer, "and to be in a covenant of peace with the citizens of Clay county, and they to be in a covenant of peace with us, notwithstanding the necessary loss of property and expense we incur in moving, we comply with the requisitions

of their resolutions in leaving the county of Clay and that we will use our exertions to have the Church do the same."

In striking contrast with the conduct of the people of Jackson county after an almost similar agreement, the inhabitants of Clay, through their committee, tendered the migrating Saints any assistance which was in their power to give. They would help them to select a suitable location, they would recommend them to the generous treatment of counties ajacent to that in which they should settle, and they would render them any material aid they could. Accordingly, two persons from each township were appointed to raise means by subscription to aid such of the "Mormons" as might be in need of assistance. As soon as possible after this agreement, the Saints began to make preparations to leave the county. The first companies moved in September, and by the following spring almost no Saints were to be found in Clay.

The New Home.

Immediately to the north-east of Clay county was a wild and practically uninhabited prairie, whose wooded streams afforded ample haunts for droves of elk and other wild game. At this time it was part of Ray county, which had been created in 1820. Bee-hunters and Indians were then almost the only human beings to be found there, for scarcely half a dozen men had arisen above the prejudice of the ordinary Missourian of that day against the prairie lands, and dared to hazard his prospects by settling in the new county. Nevertheless, it was one of the most favorable parts of Upper Missouri, not only for its fertility, but also for the variety of its products.

Already, however, William W. Phelps had looked over the country and written a description of it to the brethren at Kirtland. This it was, together with the suggestions of

some of the leading men in Clay county, that first induced the "Mormon" exiles to think of it as a desirable home. Further deliberation on the subject had revealed its really inviting prospects. The hitherto vexatious Gentile would not be likely to disturb them here, for the prairie was universally looked upon as too cold in the winter and too hot in the summer for comfortable living; and as there were only a few settlers in the whole of that county, they would be alone. They could have a county of their own; they would have their own officials, and no one would disturb, or be disturbed by, their isolation. The Saints were therefore perfectly satisfied, and the Gentiles looked upon this plan as the only solution of the "Mormon" problem.

In December, 1836, the county of Caldwell was created, and at the same time that of Daviess just north of it, both out of what had been Ray county. The former was named for an Indian scout, Matthew Caldwell, a friend of General Doniphan's father; and the latter for Col. Joseph H. Daviess, also an acquaintance of Mr. Doniphan's. This friendly General and former attorney for the "Mormons" introduced into the legislature the bill organizing these two counties, which was passed without much opposition. The duty of choosing a seat for each county was assigned to Joseph Baxter and Cornelius Gillium, the former of Clinton, the latter of Ray. It was not the intention, as some have tried to make out, that no Gentiles should settle there, though it was rather doubtful if many, under the circumstances, would do so. Nor was there any agreement, either expressed or implied, between the "Mormons" and the non-"Mormons" in the country that the former would not settle in any other county without first obtaining the consent of the inhabitants already there.

So the Saints entered upon their task of home making with great energy and enthusiasm. It was long, there-

fore, till this section of Upper Missouri, under the well-organized efforts of the "Mormon" settlers, assumed an aspect of activity and progress of which much older communities might be justly proud. The people established themselves, at first, chiefly along Shoal creek, a tributary of the Grand; but subsequently they pushed out into different parts of Caldwell county. They eventually made settlements in Daviess county and in Carroll county, just north of the Missouri near the junction of the Grand with this river. The principal town in the former county was Adam-ondi-Ahman, of which we shall say more in another section; in the latter county the settlement was named De Witt. Some of the Saints found homes at Millport and Gallatin, both in Daviess county. But the chief town, as also the county seat of Caldwell, was Far West. Mills were constructed, stores and schools established, and large parts of the country thus settled thickly studded with private dwellings. Most of the people, of course, were poor, in consequence very largely of the mobbings to which they had submitted, and many of them were compelled to seek temporary employment in other counties in order to support their families. But they all looked forward hopefully to a prosperous supremacy in the vicinity of the place where Adam dwelt.

Far West.

The city of Far West became at once the principal settlement of the "Mormon" community, the county seat of the new county, and the headquarters of the Church. It was situated on Shoal Creek north-west of what is now Kingston, the present county seat of Caldwell. "Let the city, Far West," said the Lord in a revelation (section 115) given the Prophet in April, 1838, "be a holy and consecrated land unto me, for the ground upon which thou standest is holy." We shall see presently why this was so. The idea which con-

trolled in laying out the town was doubtless a suggestion from the plat for the city in Zion, in Jackson county. Originally it was one square mile in extent, but was later extended to two. In the centre was set apart a large public square approachable by four streets, one hundred and thirty-two feet wide, running to it from the cardinal points of the compass. The streets crossed one another at right angles, and all of them except these four main roads were eighty-two and one half feet in width. The blocks thus created contained four acres. The growth of the town was naturally very rapid. By the middle of 1838 there were one hundred and fifty private dwellings, seven stores, six blacksmith shops, two hotels, and a printing house prepared to issue a Church periodical. An attempt had been made to have established there a saloon, but the idea was quickly nipped in the bud at a meeting of the high council. The houses at first were log cabins, but later frame buildings made their appearance. It is worth noting that the first public building erected in the city was a school house, which, for a time, was used also for court house, town hall, and church.

In the revelation from which we have just quoted (section 115) the Lord commanded the Saints to build a temple "that they might worship him." A beginning was to be made on the 4th of July, 1838, work was to go on gradually without involving the Church authorities in debt until, "from the corner stone to the top thereof, there should not anything remain unfinished." We shall have more to say hereafter on this subject.

Adam-ondi-Ahman.

In May, 1838, about three months after the arrival of the Prophet Joseph at Far West, he and a number of the brethren journeyed northward from the city, for the purpose of inspecting the country with a view to establishing settle-

ments between there and Tower Hill in Daviess county twenty-five or thiry miles distant. Lyman Wight, it seems, and a few others had already found themselves a home at Tower Hill and vicinity, on the Grand. Passing Wight's house—which, by the way is still standing—Joseph with Sidney Rigdon and George W. Robinson ascended the river for about half a mile. Here they found a deep bend in the stream in which was a high ridge rising abruptly from the banks at the point of the curve, with another ridge just north of, and parallel with it, leaving a valley between varying in width from fifty to a hundred yards. The name given to this first elevation was Spring Hill, but Joseph changed the name to Adam-ondi-Ahman, having been instructed of the Lord concerning the significance of this place.

Diahman, as it was commonly known to the Saints of that day, is a sacred spot by reason of the past as well as of the future. "Three years previous to the death of Adam," the Lord had declared to Joseph as early as March, 1838, in a revelation (section 107) on the priesthood, "he called Seth, Enos, Cainan, Mahalaleel, Jared, Enoch,and Methuselah,who were all High Priests, with the residue of his posterity who were righteous, into the valley of Adam-ondi-Ahman, and there bestowed upon them his last blessing. And the Lord appeared unto them, and they rose up and blessed Adam, and called him Michael, the Prince, the Archangel. And the Lord administered comfort unto Adam, and said unto him, I have set thee to be at the head—a multitude of nations shall come of thee, and thou art a prince over them forever. And Adam stood up in the midst of the congregation, and notwithstanding he was bowed down with age, being full of the Holy Ghost, predicted whatsoever should befall his posterity unto the latest generation." So much for the past; the future is still more important and striking. Adam-ondi-Ahman, according to another revelation (section 116) given

on this very occasion that the Prophet viewed the spot, "is the place where Adam shall come to visit his people, or the Ancient of Days sit," to judge mankind. This imposing scene of the judgment seat is described by Daniel the prophet in these lofty strains: "I beheld till the thrones were cast down, and the Ancient of Days did sit, whose garment was white as snow and the hair of his head like the pure wool. His throne was like the fiery flame, and his wheels a burning fire. A fiery stream issued and came forth from before him. Thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him. The judgment was set, and the books were opened.....And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve him. His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed."

Returning to Tower Hill, the Prophet called a council of the brethren "to know whether it was wisdom to go immediately into the north country, or tarry hereabout, to secure land on Grand river." They decided that they would endeavor to occupy the land between Diahman and Far West. And the company returned home.

In June following a stake organization was effected at Diahman with John Smith as president and Reynolds Cahoon and Lyman Wight as counselors. A high council was also chosen and organized. Subsequently a company of between five and six hundred Saints from Kirtland located here in a body, so that there grew up on this sacred ground considerable of a population.

Some Needful Pruning.

Unfortunately, at this time when the Church was in a critical state, just recovering from the effects of persecution, both at Kirtland and at Missouri, and also of settling in a new

country, and just as it was about to enter upon another and more critical stage of its career, there occurred the largest and most singular apostasy of prominent men in its entire history. Of the falling away that occurred in Ohio we shall speak in another chapter. We are concerned at present only with that which took place at Far West. The presidency of the Church in Missouri, two of the three special witnesses, and three of the twelve apostles were excommunicated from the Church in Missouri alone at this period.

For some time, David Whitmer, John Whitmer, and William W. Phelps, had been acting as the presidency of the Missouri Saints. But they had not given satisfaction in this capacity either to the other prominent brethren there— some of whom were apostles—or to the Saints generally. In February, 1838, they were summoned to appear before a council of the priesthood, which they refused, however, to do, on the grounds that, being a local organization, it had no right to try a presidency of the Church, who should be tried instead by the presiding bishopric of the Church. This was, of course, a misapprehension of their position, for theirs also was a local office; hence this council had a perfect right to proceed as it did in the case. This body of priesthood, after careful deliberation on the subject,decided that W. W. Phelps and John Whitmer were in transgression. Afterwards when they showed no disposition to repent, but persisted in their wrongdoing, they were cut off the Church. Phelps returned to the Church while the Saints occupied Nauvoo and subsequently came to Utah; Whitmer died outside the fold.

In April, of this same year, Elder Seymour Brunson prefered nine charges against Oliver Cowdery, six of which were sustained by the high council which tried the case April 11th. The charges that were sustained are as follows: "(1) Persecuting the brethren by urging on vexatious law suits against them, and thus distressing the innocent; (2) seeking

to destroy the character of President Joseph Smith, Jun., by falsely insinuating that he was guilty of adultery: (3) treating the Church with contempt by not attending meetings; (4) leaving his calling to which God had appointed him, for the sake of filthy lucre, and turning to the practice of law; (5) disgracing the Church by being connected in the bogus business, as common report says; and (6) dishonestly retaining notes after they had been paid." The other three charges concerned temporal matters. Oliver wrote the council a letter, in which he chose, for some reason, to answer the charges that they had dismissed, without referring to the others except to say that he "laid them carefully away." He therefore asked "to withdraw from a society assuming" to control his temporal affairs. "I beg you sir," he concluded, "to take no view of the foregoing remarks, other than my belief in the outward government of the Church. I do not charge you, or any other person who differs with me on these points, of not being sincere, but such difference does exist, which I sincerely regret." And his name was erased from the books. Later, while the Saints were on there way to the West, Cowdery returned to the Church, dying shortly afterwards.

Next came David Whitmer. The charges lodged against him were: "(1) Not observing the word of wisdom; (2) unchristianlike conduct in neglecting to attend meetings, in uniting with and possessing the same spirit as the dissenters; (3) writing letters to the dissenters in Kirtland unfavorable to the cause, and to the character of Joseph Smith, Jun., (4) neglecting the duties of his calling, and separating himself from the Church, while he had a name among us; and (5) signing himself 'President of the Church of Christ' in an insulting letter to the high council after he had been cut off from the Presidency." These charges, however, were not discussed at the meeting of the council, which

was held April 13th, for the reason that David wrote them a letter, in which he refused to "acknowledge the correctness and legality of those former councils" and declared his intentions to "withdraw from their fellowship and communion." Acting on this communication, the council decided that "the charges were sustained, and consequently considered David Whitmer no longer a member of the Church of Latter-day Saints." He never rejoined "Mormonism."

It is worthy of notice that neither of these witnesses to the divinity of the Book of Mormon even hints a denial of his testimony, nor indeed of any foundational doctrine of the Church. The real cause of their leaving the organization was insubordination to the authority of the priesthood. David Whitmer always believed that the council which excommunicated him was legally incompetent to try the case.

On the same day that Whitmer was cut off the Church, charges were preferred against Lyman E. Johnson, one of the apostles. What these were we are not informed. The council, after reading and discussing them as also a letter received from him, excommunicated him from the society. He died outside the Church.

Later than this—in October, 1838—when excitement ran high against the "Mormons" in Missouri, Thomas B. Marsh, president of the quorum of the twelve apostles, who "had been lifted up in pride by his exaltation to office and the revelations of heaven concerning him, until he was ready to be overthrown by the first adverse wind that should cross his track," went before a justice of the peace in Ray county and testified to some of the false charges so frequently repeated against the Prophet and the Church in those days. "I have heard the Prophet say," he declared among other absurd things, "that he would yet tread down his enemies, and walk over their dead bodies; and if he was not let alone, he would be a second Mohammed to this

generation and that he would make it one gore of blood from the Rocky mountains to the Atlantic ocean." Orson Hyde, also an apostle, declared, under affidavit, that "most of the statements in the foregoing disclosure he knew to be true; the remainder he believed to be true." Since these assertions were altogether false and a misrepresentation of the existing conditions at Far West, these men were condemned by the Church. Marsh was excommunicated and Hyde disfellowshiped. The former, years afterwards, returned to the Church which he had so grossly injured and belied, dying at Ogden in obscurity; the latter, after confession and reparation, was forgiven and restored to his fellowship and to his quorum. It ought to be added her that President Taylor, who was intimately acquainted with conditions at Far West ,and whose integrity no one will question, declares positively that he knew the things spoken of in these affidavits to be untrue. "How do you account for their acts?" he asks, and replying to his own question, he answers: "Only on the score of the weakness of our common humanity. We were living in troublous times, and all men's nerves are not proof against such shocks as we then had to endure."

The National Birthday.

July 4th, 1838, was celebrated at Far West by a procession and general exercises. It was also the day fixed by a revelation for the laying of the corner stones of the temple on the public square. The Saints on this day also took occasion through their orator to declare themselves free "from all mobs and persecutions."

The Prophet was chosen president of the day; Hyrum Smith, vice-president; Sidney Rigdon, orator; Reynolds Cahood, chief marshal, with George M. Hickle and J. Hunt as assistants; and George W. Robinson, clerk. At ten o'clock

the procession began. First came the infantry (State militia), next the patriarchs of the Church, followed by the president, vice-president, and orator of the day, the leading Church officials, the architects, the general public, and the cavalry. There was abundant music during the march. Arriving at the public square, a circle, with the ladies in front, was formed round the temple excavations. The corner stones were then laid according to the usual order in the Church, after which President Rigdon delivered his oration.

In view of the bearing which this speech had on subsequent events connected with "Mormon" history in Missouri, and in view also of the criticism which it has elicited from non-"Mormon" writers, it is proper that we should say something further on the subject. The address, no doubt, contained the sentiments of other leading men and the Saints generally as well as those of the orator; for it appeared in *The Far West*, a periodical published at Liberty, Clay county, and also issued from the press of the *Elders' Journal* in pamphlet form. But expressed in the naturally intemperate diction of Sidney Rigdon on a day when the American mind involuntarily turns to thoughts of freedom and human rights, the oration gave great "offense" to the overnice keepers of the Missouri conscience, ever on the alert to grasp at the slightest occasion that promised to make a "Mormon" an offender for a word.

And, indeed, this fourth of July speech was full of unnecessary fire. "Our cheeks," declared the orator, "have been given to the smiters—our heads to those who have plucked off the hair. We have not only when smitten on one cheek turned the other, but we have done it again and again, until we are wearied of being smitten, and tired of being trampled upon." He took God and angels to witness that they would suffer these things no more without resistance,

and so warned all men. "We will never be the aggressors," he went on, "we will infringe on the rights of no people, but shall stand for our own until death." But the passage that gave most offense, is this: "The mob that comes on us to disturb us, it shall be between us and them a war of extermination; for we will follow them until the last drop of their blood is spilled, or else they will have to exterminate us, for we will carry the seat of war to their own houses and their own families, and one party or the other shall be utterly destroyed." While it would be difficult altogether to justify the strong language of this address, still the impartial historian will view it in the light of the occasion on which it was delivered and the sufferings which the Saints had endured, patienty enough, at the hands of violent and unprincipled men in Jackson county, together with the criminal indifference of both State and county officials in the matter of returning them to their homes. But it would mortally wound the sensitive feelings of our critics if we were to offer the slightest palliation of so grave a sin, most of all to suggest that the *expression* of these sentiments by the "Mormons" is less of a crime than the *acting out* of unspeakably worse sentiments by the mobs of upper Missouri, legalized into state troops by the infamous Boggs.

Thus the Saints, augmented every month, during 1837 and 1838, by members of the Church from Ohio, the various States of the Union, and Canada, set to with joyful labor to build for themselves a new home, till by the fall of the latter year nearly the whole body of the Church was located in Caldwell and Daviess counties, the place of the judgment seat. But already their energy and rapid progress were beginning to excite suspicion in the hearts of jealous neighbors, which, united by unscupulous treachery from within the Church, was to accomplish untold hardship and privation for this most unpopular denomination.

CHAPTER VIII

TRAITORS AND FRIENDS

While these things were happening at Far West, events in the Ohio town were hastening to a crisis. From a spiritual calm in the bosom of the Church at Kirtland, such as men have rarely been the recipients of in mortality, the sacred places of the Saints, by reason of worldliness in several of the leading brethren, became scenes of turbulence and hate.

The Ascendery of the Temporal.

In November, 1836, there was organized, under the advice of the Prophet, what was called the "Kirtland Safety Society"—an institution which was intended by its founder to be of great benefit to the Saints, but which, owing to the counsel of men less far-sighted than he, proved the spiritual undoing of many leading elders and also of the Saints. Its articles of agreement, drawn up and adopted the following January, provided for a capital of four million dollars, to be divided into shares of fifty dollars each. The management was to consist of thirty-two stockholders, chosen annually, who were to meet twice a year. A committee of seven, selected by the "managers" from among themselves, was to "inquire into and assist in all matters" pertaining to the company. Oliver Cowdery had already been sent to Philadelphia to procure plates for the "bank," and Orson Hyde to Columbus, Ohio, with a petition to the legislature for an act of incorporation. The latter, however, returned unsuccessful, for the State law-makers had refused to grant the "Mormons" banking privileges "which they so freely granted to others." The "bank," nevertheless, did business without a charter, but

the venture proved a failure. Deposits were made; large sums of money in notes were floated on too small an actual capital; unwise counsels, growing out of too meagre a business experience, prevailed; jealousies arose among those who had the management of the institution. And so it failed before it got fairly established.

The secret of its downfall, however, was not any nor all of these things. It was more deep-seated than that. During the two or three years preceding the administration of President Van Buren there occurred a reckless spirit of speculation throughout the United States, "which was fostered and encouraged by excessive banking, and the consequent expansion of paper currency beyond all the legitimate wants of the country." The crash came when debts were to be paid, notes to be collected and paper money redeemed. This was in 1837. "During the months of March and April of this year the failures in New York City alone amounted to over one hundred million dollars. The state of affairs became so distressing that petitions were sent to the President from several quarters, and a deputation of merchants and bankers of New York waited upon him in person" soliciting him to defer the immediate collection of duties and to call an extra session of Congress. Bank failures were common throughout the Union, east and west.

In this financial whirlpool the Saints were caught. At the end of the comparatively immense drain on their means by the temple, and the situation at Kirtland had been relieved, there succeeded a period of prosperity. Speculation became rife not only with the lower officers of the Church, but also with some members of the twelve. Every quorum of the priesthood was more or less infected. For a time the people felt themselves rich. They borrowed money to invest in business. Mercantile establishments and mills sprang up

on borrowed capital. Farms were bought at high prices. The desire for fine clothes and fine homes was indulged. In 1837, the recokning time came to Kirtland as it came to the nation at large, and there followed a period of heavy depression.

Threatened Disintegration.

Meantime, there had grown up bitter jealousies, in the Church, chiefly out of this financial trouble. Some one had to be blamed for the downfall of the "Society," and who, declared some of the bankrupt brethren, so likely as its founder. Joseph had by this time resigned his office of treasurer. On his shoulders, therefore, was shifted the whole weight of responsibility for its failure. Not mismanagement, but misappropriation of funds, was the charge that flew from mouth to mouth among the disgruntled. About this time Joseph fell sick, and his recovery was for a time despaired of. This was pointed out by enemies as the judgment of God for his sins. The cry of "Fallen Prophet!" was everywhere heard. Men turned apostates on all hands, till the very existence of the Church was threatened. No one until the test came knew who was his friend. Joseph's life became unsafe, as well as the lives of those who took his part.

Many there were who, in those days, fell by the wayside. Frederick G. Williams, Joseph's second counselor in the Presidency of the Church; William E. M'Lellin, the two Johnsons, John F. Boynton, and Parley P. Pratt, all members of the quorum of twelve; Warren Parish, clerk to the Prophet, and many others, whom it is not important to name, were among the disaffected. We have already seen that the movement spread to Missouri, sweeping along in its current such men as Phelps, David and John Whitmer, and Oliver Cowdery. Some of these men, seeing their error, repented and sought forgiveness. Among these were Parley

P. Pratt, John F. Boynton, and Lyman E. Johnson. The latter two, however, soon fell back into their old ways and spirit. Apostle Pratt, when he perceived the light, went to the Prophet in tears and confessed his errors, and the latter "frankly forgave and blessed him."

As the apostates contended that Joseph had fallen, it followed that they supposed themselves the true Church. An organization was effected. A young woman, living at David Whitmer's, was prophetess to the new party, and her scribe was no less a person than Dr. Williams, former counselor to Joseph. The seceders claimed the temple, and sought by every means to wrest it out of the possession of the Church Disputes were frequent between the contending parties in the very rooms of this sacred edifice where so many glorious manifestations of the divine presence had occurred. Once Father Smith was preaching. In the course of his remarks he cast some reflections upon the conduct of Warren Parish in relation to the "Safety Society Bank," at which the latter became highly incensed, although the reflections were perfectly just. Parish dragged the old gentleman out of the pulpit. The aged patriarch appealed to Oliver Cowdery, who was a justice of the peace. But Oliver retained his seat. Whereupon William Smith came to the rescue of his father; but while he was carrying Parish bodily out of the house, Boynton sprang forward, with drawn sword, and threatened Smith's life. So much stronger apparently was the apostate party that the rest dared not prevent such a scene in the house of God.

But it was not only from within that the Prophet and those of his brethren who remained firm to the truth, received violence. The non-"Mormon" element in the neighborhood, when they found the Church rent by strife, came forward to add to the confusion. During the time of the evident prosperity which we have referred to in connection

with the bank, many of the Saints had become involved in debt. Wherever, therefore, it was possible for a Gentile creditor who was under the spell of the apostates, to plant a suit against a "Mormon" debtor of the opposite party, he was not slow to do so. In this way whatever property belonging to the latter was seizable, was soon taken. The faithful ones were seized on other pretexts than debt. Father Smith was arrested at the instigation of his one-time friends, on the trifling charge of performing a marriage ceremony without a license, and narrowly escaped imprisonment.

So serious an aspect did this opposition take on, from without and from within the Church, that the Prophet towards the end of the year 1837, considered his life in danger. So he determined to flee to Missouri. "One evening," says his mother in her biography of her son, "before finishing his preparations for the contemplated journey, he sat in council with the brethren at our house. After giving them directions as to what he desired them to do, while he was absent from them, and, as he was about leaving the room, he said, 'Well, brethren, one thing is certain, I shall see you again, let what will happen, for I have the promise of life five years, and they cannot kill me until that time is expired.'" That midnight—it was January, 1838—he and his family, with barely enough clothes and bedding and an insufficient amount of provisions, took their departure from Kirtland for Missouri, in company with President Rigdon. Joseph and Sidney rode on horseback. The weather was extremely cold, and very often they had to sleep in the wagons. For two hundred miles from Kirtland they were pursued by their enemies, who had somehow got wind of their escape. "They frequently crossed our track," declares the Prophet, "twice they were in the houses where we stopped, once we tarried all night in the same house with them, with only a

partition between us and them; and heard their oaths and imprecations, and threats concerning us, if they could catch us; and late in the evening they came in to our room and examined us, but decided we were not the men. At other times we passed them in the streets, and gazed upon them, and they on us, but they knew us not." At Dublin, Indiana, the Prophet "sought for a job at cutting and sawing wood to relieve his necessities." Afterwards a Brother Tomlinson sold some property and gave Joseph the proceeds—three hundred dollars—which enabled him to continue his journey He reached Far West in February, where he was greeted by warm hearts on every hand.

But the Prophet Joseph, during these gloomy days, had his defenders. There were men and women at Kirtland whom nothing could turn against him. They had known him for years in his private and his public life, and having no ulterior motive to serve, clung to him with the strongest cords of attachment. Eagerly would they have given the final test of friendship, so sure were they of his upright character and the truth of his prophetic claims.

One of these was Brigham Young. Once, upon discovering a plot to waylay Joseph while the latter was coming to Kirtland from Monroe, Michigan, Brigham obtained a carriage, invited William Smith to join him, and went to meet the Prophet, determined to frustrate the wicked designs of the apostates. When these three met, Joseph took his brother's place in the buggy, while William took Joseph's seat in the stage-coach; and thus through Brother Young's thoughtful actions was an evil purpose defeated and the Prophet probably saved from harm. On another occasion several of the malcontents had met in an upper room of the temple for the purpose of devising means of displacing the Prophet Joseph as President of the Church and securing the office for David Whitmer. Brigham was in attendance. Dur-

ing the course of the discussion he rose and, with characteristic boldness, assured them that Joseph was not a "fallen prophet," and he knew it. They must not think that they could destroy the Prophet's character and overturn his divine appointment by slander and vituperation. Their secret meetings and their plottings would prove their own spiritual ruin and send them speedily to their doom in hell. One Jacob Bump, a former pugilist, said excitedly, "How can I keep my hands off that man?" But the intrepid Brigham calmly replied that if it would give him any relief he "might lay them on!" Subsequently, however, so bold did these men become that Brother Young's life was in peril; and he escaped to Missouri. This was before Joseph's departure for that place.

Another of the Prophet's defenders was the late President John Taylor, then a new convert only recently come from Canada. He had come to Kirtland to meet Joseph. At one of the Sunday meetings held in the temple, Warren Parrish fiercely denounced the absent Prophet. It was a great trial for those who retained their integrity to sit there and have to listen to such abusive language concerning their leader, and that, too, in the very temple of God. But apparently no one dared to say a word for the Prophet, so sure was Parrish of a large sympathy in the audience. Nearly all the leading men who were faithful had fled for safety. Suddenly John Taylor, then a comparative stranger, arose and asked permission to speak, which was granted. He called attention to the great work which Joseph had done in revealing truths that the world would never have known otherwise. "Whence," he asked, "do we get our intelligence, and knowledge of the laws, ordinances and doctrines of the kingdom of God? Who understood even the first principles of the doctrines of Christ? Who in the Christian world taught them? If we, with our learning and intelligence, could not

find out the first principles, which was the case with myself and millions of others, how can we find out the mysteries of the kingdom? It was Joseph Smith, under the Almighty, who developed the first principles, and to him we must look for further instructions. If the spirit which he manifests does not bring blessings, I am very much afraid that the one manifested by those who have spoken, will not be very likely to secure them. The children of Israel, formerly, after seeing the power of God manifested in their midst, fell into rebellion and idolatry, and there is certainly very great danger of us doing the same thing."

In this voice, which was destined to be raised so frequently in later years in defense of the truth, the timid but true friends of Joseph present at this meeting, recognized a powerful bulwark for the Prophet and the word of God. At about the same time, Parley P. Pratt, who had been instrumental in the conversion of Taylor, but who was now "passing through a cloud," approached the latter one day and would turn him away. But the future President of the Church was too independent and too thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the Restoration to be thus moved. He expressed his surprise that his spiritual father should have so suddenly changed. "Now, Brother Parley," said this new disciple, with a firmness that must have shaken the hitherto staunch apostle in his mistaken course, "it is not man that I am following, but the Lord. . . . . If the work was true six months ago, it is true today! if Joseph Smith was then a prophet, he is now a prophet."

And there were many others, only less conspicuous than these two, who stood up boldly for Joseph and the truth. "I was pained on the one hand," said Elder Taylor, in reference to those evil days, "to witness the hard feelings and severe expressions of apostates; while on the other, I rejoiced to see the firmness, faith, integrity, and joy of the faithful."

The removal of the headquarters of the Church to Missouri was the signal for the abandonment of Kirtland by the Saints. In July, 1838, a company of more than five hundred left for the West, "pitching their tents by the way," under the direction of the quorum of Seventy. They were called the Kirtland camp, and upon their arrival in Missouri settled at Adam-ondi-Ahman. After this there were only a few left at Kirtland, but a small branch existed there as late as 1840. though it was discontinued in this year. The apostates, however, must have been numerous; for afterwards we find Lyman Wight reconverting about two hundred of them at Kirtland. The temple, desecrated by apostates and other enemies of the Church, long lay useless, a silent monument to the extraordinary scenes that had been witnessed within its sacred precints. It is now in the hands of the so-called "Reorganized church."

Such were the violent scenes during the Last Days of Kirtland.

CHAPTER IX

HERALDS OF GRACE

While the Prophet Joseph was standing in the midst of traitors at Kirtland who were waiting eagerly for an opportunity to strike him down, he had remarked to some faithful brethren: "God has revealed to me that *something new must be done for the salvation of the Church.*" That something new proved to be the opening of the British mission—one of the most important movements in this dispensation.

The "Mormon" Proselyting System.

One of the numerous distinctive features of the Church, and at the same time one of the most puzzling to an outsider, is our great missionary organization. As is well known, with us practically all the male membership of the Church hold the priesthood, and are therefore preachers, supposed to hold themselves in readiness to go to the remotest corners of the earth to proclaim the gospel when called upon by their superiors. This of itself is no small deviation from the prevailing custom among Christian sects, of a chosen clergy. But the most extraordinary thing about the "Mormon" idea is, that the great burden of expense attached to carrying the message of peace to the world is borne by the missionaries themselves individually. This, in parts where they do not travel "without purse and scrip," generally means several hundred dollars, sometimes several thousand, not estimating the amount required by the family at home nor that which might have been earned during the years spent in the missionary field. There have been times in the history of "Mormonism" when two thousand men have been engaged in

the foreign ministry alone. It is not difficult, therefore, to see that this is an immense drain on the private financial resources of individual members of the Church. And yet there is little indication that this is felt; for there is no more prosperous community to be found anywhere than the "Mormons"—these very men who devote so much time and means to preaching their faith abroad. During his life, an average Latter-day Saint may fill two or three missions of from two to five years each. In these days when sanctity itself is measured in terms of dollars and cents, it is no marvel that non-"Mormons" are puzzled at what they view a tremendous sacrifice of personal interest.

And yet this immense expenditure of labor and means has been going on ever since "Mormonism" began. At first, of course, it was small and limited to the vicinity of Palmyra and Fayette. But not for long. As soon as converts multiplied the male members among these devoted much of their time to publishing the word. In a surprisingly short period, the disciples of Joseph Smith might be seen in all the States of the Union, east and west. Then the work was extended into Canada and England, into European and Asiatic countries generally, and into the islands of the sea, till now most countries of the civilized world have echoed to the voice of the "Mormon" propagandist.

But this enormous task of warning the world has meantime been of incalculable benefit to the Church otherwise than by increasing its membership. It has been an unfailing source of education to the Saints, both individually and collectively. No other distinctive body is as rapidly becoming so cosmopolitan. These thousands of missionaries, young and old, picked up from every settlement, almost from every family, and from every walk of life, visit the various countries of the world; they brush up against all classes of people, view their habits and customs, inspect their

cities, industries, and general civilization, associate intimately with them in public and private, learn their language, read their literature, think their thoughts; and then they return home laden with new ideas, which they scatter with a free hand in the towns and cities where they live, thus lifting whole communities to a higher and broader plane of life.

Verily, this latter-day work is a "marvelous work and a wonder;" for what human wisdom could have devised so comprehensive and effective a means of proclaiming the peculiar tenets of the religion, and at the same time contribute so much to the general elevation of the mind?

The first indication of the extensiveness of this missionary system was the labors of Parley P. Pratt in Canada and of Heber C. Kimball in England.

The Canadian Mission.

One evening, in April, 1836, Apostle Pratt, having retired at an early hour, was meditating upon his present circumstances and his future course. He was then living at Kirtland. All his fellow-apostles had either gone on mssions or were about to go. But he was deeply in debt, not only an account of the past winter's household expenses, but also, and especially, on account of a lot which he had purchased and a house which he had built on it. While he was at the point of debating in his mind "whether to go on a mission or stay at home, and endeavor to sustain his family and pay his debts," there came an unexpected knock at his door. He rose and opened it, whereupon Heber C. Kimball and some other brethren entered. They were filled with the spirit of prophecy, declares Parley, and blessed him and his wife, making over their heads some of the most astonishing predictions. His wife should be healed of a long-standing infirmity, and should bear a son, who was to be named Parley. This was the more extraordinary because, though this couple

had been married ten years no child had come to their home. Elder Pratt was advised not to "take thought" concerning his debts, for the Lord would supply him abundantly. "Thou shalt go to upper Canada," continued the prophetic blessing, "even the city of Toronto, the capital, and there thou shalt find a people prepared for the fulness of the gospel, and they shall receive thee, and thou shalt organize the Church among them, and it shall spread thence into the regions round about, and many shall be brought to a knowledge of the truth and shall be filled with joy; and from the things growing out of this mission, shall the fulness of the gospel spread into England, and cause a great work to be done in that land." This, of course, set Parley's mind at rest, and he was soon on his way to the city of Toronto.

This was not the first time, however, that "Mormon" missionaries had visited Canada. Elder Orson Pratt had preached at Patten, in July, 1833; and the Prophet himself with Sidney Rigdon, had delivered several discourses at Mount Pleasant and adjoining towns—about ninety miles southwest of Toronto—in October of the same year. On this occasion Joseph had baptized sixteen persons, and there were others, he says, who believed. At Loborough, also, there must have been some missionary work done, for we read in the Prophet's journal, under date of June 29th, 1835, of a special conference being held by the twenty-five members forming the branch there. Six of the apostles—Elders Patten, Kimball, Orson Pratt, Boynton, and the two Johnsons—were present on this occasion to instruct the Saints on points of doctrine concerning which they had desired information. But beyond these, and probably one or two other, isolated instances, it appears that nothing had been done toward opening a regular mission in the Dominion prior to 1836.

On reaching Toronto, in Ontario, Parley P. Pratt went

to the home of John Taylor, the same who afterwards became president of the Church, to whom he had been given a letter of introduction by a person he had met at Hamilton, just across the lake. But Mr. Taylor received him somewhat coldly. That night he went to a hotel. Next morning he called on several ministers of different churches, but he was "refused hospitality," and denied the privilege of preaching in any of their chapels. He applied to the sheriff for the court house, but with no better success. "Rather an unpromising beginning," he thought, "considering the prophecies on my head concerning Toronto." He repaired to a pine grove just outside of town, where he prayed that the Lord would open the way, for he had done all he could. Returning to Mr. Taylor's, he put his hand to his baggage, with a view to leaving a place where he could do no good, when a Mrs. Walton came in and invited him to stay at her house. Feeling that this was an answer to his prayer, he went with her. When this good woman found that the new preacher believed in signs following faith, she solicited him to visit a friend of hers who was blind, for the purpose of administering to her. Elder Pratt did so, with the result that the woman's sight was completely restored. Meanwhile he was meeting people and attending religious services in the town, but made no appointments to preach.

Now, at Toronto there was a society composed of a number of persons, men and women, who, having become dissatisfied with all the churches, met together twice a week for the purpose of discussing topics pertaining to religion. Mr. Taylor and his wife and Mrs. Walton belonged to this group. One Sunday evening Elder Pratt was invited to their meeting. On this occasion John Taylor led the discussion by reading the text and commenting upon it, which happened to be the account of Philip's journey to Samaria. "Where is our modern Philip?" asked Mr. Taylor; "where

are our preachers today authorized of God to baptize with water for the remission of sin? Where, moreover, is the ancient Church with apostles and prophets, inspired of heaven? Where are the gifts and blessings which Jesus said should follow the true believer?" Others present made similiar remarks. Elder Pratt was invited to speak. But he declined owing to the lateness of the hour. An appointment was made for him. He spoke on the apostasy from the primitive Church. After this he preached twice to the same audience, once on the glories of the New Dispensation as predicted in the Scriptures, and then on the actual fulfillment of these prophecies in the visions and revelations of our own day. All the members of the society, except the chairman, were converted, John Taylor, his wife, and Mrs. Walton being the first to be baptized.

The wedge of the gospel thus inserted into this body of independent thinkers cleft in twain the religious sentiment at Toronto and vicinity for many miles. Mr. Taylor, a man of considerable education, good standing in the community, and a former Methodist preacher, was ordained an elder, and his services were enlisted in the new ministry. At a town nine miles distant these two elders called on Joseph Fielding, who, with his two sisters was subsequently baptized, though the young ladies, when the "Mormons" first came to their home, had escaped to a neighbor's. One of these afterwards became the wife of Patriarch Hyrum Smith and the mother of President Joseph F. Smith.

After two months' labor at Toronto, Elder Pratt returned home to Kirtland, for some of his debts were pressing and he needed a fresh supply of printed matter to circulate among the people. "I accordingly gave out word," he says, "at a meeting in Toronto one Sunday evening, that I should take boat for home next morning. Now all this time I had asked no man for money, nor had I explained my circum-

stances; however, on shaking hands at the close of the next meeting, several bank bills were secretly shaken into my hands, amounting in all to several hundred dollars." On reaching home, he found his wife entirely healed of her ailment. After a short visit he went back to Canada, taking Mrs. Pratt with him.

The work there increased in a marvelous manner. Numbers were added to the Church; the gifts of the gospel were manifested on every hand. Soon the labor of visiting and preaching became too arduous for Elder Pratt, and Apostles Hyde and Orson Pratt were sent to aid him. A family of infidels, named Lamphire, whom everyone had given up as reprobate, were converted. A Mrs. Whitney, living in the same neighborhood, strangely afflicted with bodily contortions, was immediately healed upon being administered to by Elder Pratt.

Great interest, not to say excitement, was manifested in Toronto and adjacent towns. For a time this was added to by a diversion in the nature of opposition by a Reverend Mr. Caird, a Scotch preacher, who visited Canada periodically as a religious reformer. Throughout Ontario this man had an immense reputation. When, therefore, Elder Pratt, who was himself a man of rare eloquence and personal magnetism, appeared with his new religion, everybody was anxious that the two should get together, for they felt that the combat of these giants would be a great source of edification. Parley went to Kingston, a place about one hundred and seventy-five miles distant up the lake, where Rev. Caird was preaching. But the cautious reformer, having heard of the "Mormon" apostle's fame, could not be induced to debate. At his public harangues on the latter's creed and people, he would not let the elder make a reply. Handbills, however, were circulated, refuting the slanders of the reverend preacher. He fled to Toronto, where he was followed by the

apostle. Here Elder Hyde and Parley Pratt, securing the free use of the public hall, preached to immense audiences, exposing Mr. Caird's pretentions and his assertions concerning the Church. The "Christian" minister's next move was, therefore, to make a precipitate flight to Scotland, where, ten years later, Elder Pratt found him "living in private life and of no notoriety."

We have no means of ascertaining how many converts were made at this time in the Canadian mission, but we have reason to believe that the number was very large. There must have been many hundreds. Subsequently to this, Apostle John E. Page alone baptized more than six hundred persons there. At the time the Saints occupied Caldwell county, we read of several large companies coming there from Canada.

Elder Pratt returned home. His wife bore him a son, whom he named Parley; but the mother, "when the child was dressed, and she had looked upon it, ceased to live in the flesh." There remains only one more item of the remarkable prophecy uttered upon this apostle's head by Heber C. Kimball, to be fulfilled. But we shall see presently that that, too, was not to fail.

The English Mission.

"Let my servant Heber go to England to proclaim my gospel, and open the door of salvation to that nation." Such were the words which the Prophet Joseph whispered into the ear of Heber C. Kimball, as the latter sat "in front of the stand, above the sacrament table, on the Melchisedek side of the temple, in Kirtland," on the evening of June 4th, 1837. "The thought," says his biographer, Apostle Orson F. Whitney, "was overpowering. He had been surprised at his call to the apostleship: now he was overwhelmed. Like Jeremiah he staggered under the weight of his own weakness, exclaiming

in self-humiliation: 'O Lord, I am a man of stammering tongue, and altogether unfit for such a work; how can I go to preach in that land, which is so famed throughout Christendom for learning, knowledge and piety; the nursery of religion; and to a people whose intelligence is proverbial?' " He begged that Brigham Young might go with him, but the Prophet had use at home for that stalwart. While his knees were yet shaking with the weight of responsibility of so great an undertaking, apostates endeavored to throw discouragement in his way; but the faithful ones said, "Go and do as the Prophet has told you, and you shall prosper and be blessed with power to do a glorious work." Subsequently Orson Hyde and Willard Richards—the latter of whom Heber had prophetically promised long before he ever thought of going to England that they two should go together—and Joseph Fielding, late from Canada, were added to the mission. The Presidency laid their hands upon the chief apostle and invoked great blessings upon his head. God would make him mighty to win souls; angels should bear him up, lest his feet should slip; and he should be a means of salvation to thousands.

On the 13th of June, these elders left for the shores of Britain. On their way they were joined by John Goodson, Isaac Russell, and John Snyder, from Canada. At New York City they were compelled to wait till they could obtain sufficient means to pay their passage over the waters, though the ship lay at anchor ready to depart. Meantime, they sent one hundred and eighty copies of Orson Hyde's *Timely Warnings* to as many of New York's ministers, and distributed great numbers throughout the city. At last they obtained the necessary amount—eighteen dollars apiece—to pay for a birth in the *Garrick*. It was now the 1st of July. After nineteen days' sailing, they entered the Mersey, op-

posite Liverpool, and the seven "Mormon" missionaries leaped ashore, "homeless in a land of homes."

Calling upon the Lord for guidance, they were directed by the Spirit to go to Preston, thirty-one miles from Liverpool. When they reached this place, July 22d, it was election day. Queen Victoria had just ascended the throne, and members of Parliament were to be chosen. An immense throng paraded the streets, with music, flags, and banners, shouting and hurrahing. One of the banners floating above their heads, contained the letters, "Truth will Prevail." As it approached the place where the Elders were they shouted, "Amen! Thanks be to God, Truth *will* prevail!" A fitting reception, this, for the penniless preachers from America bringing to the British public the pearl of great price.

And here the English mission connects itself with the Canadian, through the prediction which Elder Kimball had uttered over the head of Elder Pratt, more than a year before. Joseph Fielding, Heber's fellow-missionary to England, was one of Parley's converts at Toronto. He had relatives in the neighborhood of Preston, to whom, after his conversion, he wrote concerning the rise of the new American Church. One of these relatives was a Reverend James Fielding, the minister of Vauxhall chapel in this English town. So interested had he become in the communications of his brother respecting the marvelous character of the Restoration that he advised his congregation to pray that these inspired prophets might visit them also. This, certain members of his church had done, and God now condescended to answer their prayers; for it is stated that "many, in dreams and visions, were shown the very men whom the Lord was about to send into their midst. Heber C. Kimball, especially, on his arrival in Preston, was recognized by persons who had never until then beheld him in the flesh." The first evening after the missionaries had reached

Preston, they received an invitation to visit the Reverend Mr. Fielding, which Elders Kimball, Hyde, and Goodson accepted. Mr. Watson, Fielding's brother-in-law, a minister from Bedford, was also present at the interview. The next day being Sunday, the Elders attended the chapel services, which included a sermon by the pastor. To their surprise, but in answer to a silent prayer they had offered during the discourse, the preacher, unsolicited, announced that at 3 o'clock that afternoon some ministers from America would preach at that place. Apostles Kimball and Hyde spoke to the audience, which was unusually large. Another appointment was made for that evening, which was filled by Elders Goodson and Fielding. Thus was literally fulfilled Apostle Kimball's prediction, for "from the things growing out of that mission" of Parley P. Pratt's to Canada, "the gospel spread into England."

At this point Satan, becoming alarmed, sought to frustrate the work of God, through direct and indirect means. First, he closed the doors of Vauxhall chapel against the missionaries. Mr. Fielding, when he found that the preaching of the American elders was likely to lose him his flock, and therefore his source of temporal gains—for a number of the congregation had asked for baptism, and many others belived—informed Elder Kimball that he could have the use of his meeting-house no longer. He forbade the apostle to baptize any of his people. But the redoubtable Heber replied: "They are of age and can act for themselves; I shall baptize all who come to me, asking no favors of any man." Whereat, we are told, "Mr. Fielding trembled as though he had a chill."

Failing to check the progress of Truth, the Adversary of Souls resorted to his old devices. About daybreak of Sunday, July 30th, Isaac Russell came into the room occupied by Elders Kimball and Hyde, and asked them to rebuke

the evil spirits with which he was possessed. They did so, whereupon Heber was "struck with great force by some invisible power, and fell senseless on the floor." Upon recovering, the Lord showed him in vision the hosts of the infernal regions. "We gazed upon them about an hour and a half (by Willard's watch)," declares Elder Kimball, and his testimony concerning this extraordinary revelation is corroborated by Orson Hyde. "We were not looking towards the window, but towards the wall. Space appeared before us, and we saw the devils coming in legions, with their leaders, who came within a few feet of us. They came towards us like armies rushing to battle. They appeared to be men of full stature, possessing every form and feature of men in the flesh, who were angry and desperate; and I shall never forget the vindictive malignity depicted on their countenances as they looked me in the eye; and any attempt to paint the scene which then presented itself, or portray their malice and enmity, would be vain. I perspired exceedingly, my clothes becoming as wet as if I had been taken out of the river. I felt excessive pain, and was in the greatest distress for some time. I cannot even look back on the scene without feelings of horror; yet by it I learned the power of the adversary, his enmity against the servants of God, and got some understanding of the invisible world. We distinctly heard those spirits talk and express their wrath and hellish designs against us. However, the Lord delivered us from them, and blessed us exceedingly that day." With considerable misgivings as to his own condition at the time, Elder Kimball, when he got home, asked Joseph the Prophet concerning this vision. "When I heard of it," said the latter, "it gave me great joy, for I then knew that the work of God had taken root in that land." That morning at nine o'clock Apostle Kimball baptized nine persons, George D. Watt being the first to receive the ordinance. One of these—Sister

Elizabeth Walmsley—was suddenly healed, by the power of God, of that dread disease, consumption.

The missionaries now separated, Elders Richards and Goodson going to the city of Bedford, Russell and Snyder, to Alston, in Cumberland, and Apostles Kimball and Hyde and Priest Fielding to remain where they were. Not long after this, Snyder came to Preston and reported that, though he and Russell had baptized about thirty souls, they had met with a good deal of opposition. After a few days' visit with the brethren here, Snyder and Goodson, who had also deserted his field of labor, left for their home in America, the latter pretending that his business there required him to do so, and taking with him nearly two hundred copies of the Book of Mormon and Doctrine and Covenants, which he refused either to give or sell to Elder Kimball, though he burned them before he reached his journey's end. Goodson had brought about considerable trouble to his companions by his injudicious methods of preaching; for he administered "meat" to the new converts, who could barely endure the "milk of the word." He had turned away the Reverend Matthews from the truth by reading to him the vision of the three glories, a thing which Joseph had specifically forbidden the outgoing missionaries to do. Had it not been for this, and more or less sickness on the part of Elder Richards, more good might have been accomplished at Bedford and vicinity. As it was, two branches of forty members were "raised up" in the neighborhood.

Meanwhile, the Preston ministry was making phenomenal progress. On the evening of their third Sunday in England, the elders organized a branch of twenty-seven members. They now extended their labors into the villages adjacent to Preston, where they met with the most amazing success. Among these small towns, we find Penwortham, Walkerfold, Thornley, Ribchester, Chatburn, Clithero, Bar-

she Lees, Waddington, Leyland Moss, Leyland Lane, Eccleston, Hunter's Hill, Euxton, Whittle, Dauber's Lane, Bamber Bridge, Longton, Southport, Downham, Brumley, Brampton, Bolton, and Chorley, in all of which branches of the Church were established.

Of the work done at Wakefield and Chatburn we may speak more in detail. On August 4th, Elder Kimball had baptized and confirmed Miss Jenetta Richards, a young girl of unusual intelligence, the daughter of a minister at Walkerfold, who had come on a visit to the Walmsley's at Preston. On her return home, she communicated the facts concerning the new Church to her father, John Richards, who forthwith, in fulfillment of the "Mormon" apostle's prediction to Jenetta, extended an invitation to the missionaries to preach in his chapel on Sunday evening. Elder Kimball went to Walkerfold, and was received by a "God bless you!" from the reverend gentleman. He preached a touching discourse to a large audience, and, by request, spoke again on Wednesday evening. Subsequently, all the younger members of Mr. Richards' congregation, and many of the older ones, were baptized.

At Chatburn, also, a village near Preston which the ministers for thirty years past had always avoided as a collection of unteachables, Elder Kimball was successful beyond the belief of his fellow-missionaries themselves. There, standing on a barrel in a great tithing barn, he preached to a large crowd of eager listeners. "When I concluded," he says, "I felt some one pulling at my coat, exclaiming 'Maister, Maister!' I turned round and asked what was wanted. Mrs. Elizabeth Partington said, 'Please, sir, will you baptize me?' 'And me?' 'And me?' exclaimed more than a dozen voices." He thereupon baptized twenty-five. On his way to Downham, next morning, he baptized twenty-five or thirty more. Next night he returned to Chatburn, and

found that this and other villages adjoining were "affected from one end to the other" by his preaching. "Parents called their children together, spoke to them on the subjects which he had preached about, and warned them against swearing and all other evil practices." While passing through Chatburn on another occasion Brothers Kimball and Fielding had been observed by the inhabitants. "The news ran from house to house, and immediately the noise of their looms was hushed and the people flocked to their doors to welcome us and see us pass. More than forty young people of the place ran to meet us; some took hold of our mantles and then of each other's hands; several having hold of hands went before us singing the songs of Zion, while their parents gazed upon the scene with delight, and poured out their blessings upon our heads, and praised the God of heaven for sending us to unfold the principles of truth and the plan of salvation to them. The children continued with us to Downham, a mile distant." A strange love, surely, for whole villages to show for two Americans whose faces they had looked upon for the first time only a week before!

Wherever these men of God went, their labors among the people were sealed by the Holy Spirit in various manifestations. The sick were healed by the power of the Lord; the lame were made to walk; several consumptives were cured instantly by the administration of baptism; devils were rebuked and expelled in the name of Jesus; and the gifts of the gospel were enjoyed in other ways. "Many scores of persons, declares Apostle Kimball, "were healed by our sending a handkerchief to them." Meetings were held in the "Cockpit," "a large and commodious place, capable of seating eight hundred persons, and situated in the centre of Preston." It had once been used for cock-fighting, but had recently been converted into a temperance hall. The arena was now occupied by the singers; and the place where the judges

had viewed the contentious "roosters" and awarded the prizes, was used for pulpit. Here, at Christmas tide, 1837, a special conference was held, with three hundred Saints in attendance. The "word of wisdom" was at this time first made known to the people, though the example of the elders in this respect had already promulgated the doctrine. The spirit of the Lord was poured out upon the elders and Saints in a remarkable manner.

But all this success had not been won without opposition. At Walkerfold, some of the young people who had joined the Church were driven from home by their parents. Some preachers at Preston, most of whom, it was afterwards found, were themselves unlicensed, compelled the elders to take out licenses to preach. The Rev. Robert Aitkin, a famous reform minister, many of whose disciples had embraced the Church, came to Preston and delivered several philipics against "Mormonism." These, however, the elders met by reading the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians to the Saints at their Sunday evening meeting. In return for Aitkin's desire and prayed that the Lord would either drive all the "Mormons" from the coast or smite their leaders, the apostles advised their flock to pray that God might touch the heart of this reverend preacher that he might see the light. During much of this time all kinds of slanders were circulated concerning the missionaries, chiefly by the professed teachers of the gospel, who would not face the elders in open discussion. But this opposition served only to advertise the work, as indeed it always has done in the history of "Mormonism;" for men can do nothing against, but for the truth.

The missionaries had now been here nearly eight months, and they determined to leave for America in a few days. They appointed a conferenec for the 8th of April, 1838,

and made arrangements to visit the branches which they had established. Elders Richards and Russell now joined them from their fields of labor. We need not follow the brethren in their journey from one village to another, except to say that their parting with the Saints was a source of grief to all concerned. The Saints at Chatburn were inconsolable at the melancholy prospect of seeing Heber's face no more. The great apostle, too, was borne down by a weight of sorrow. "When I left them," he says, "my feelings were such as I cannot describe. As I walked down the street I was followed by numbers; the doors were crowded by the inmates of the houses to bid me farewell, who could only give vent to their grief in sobs and broken accents. While contemplating this scene I was constrained to take off my hat, for I felt as if the place was holy ground. The Spirit of the Lord rested down upon me and I was constrained to bless the whole region of country. I was followed by a great number to Clithero, a considerable distance from the villages, who could then hardly separate from me. My heart was like unto theirs, and I thought my head was a fountain of tears, for I wept for several miles after I bid them adieu. I had to leave the road three times to go to the streams of water to bathe my eyes." Subsequently, the Prophet Joseph informed Heber that "some of the ancient apostles had traveled in that region and dedicated the land, and that Elder Kimball had reaped the benefit of their blessing." A great many new converts were made during these visits; Heber speaks of having to go into the water six or seven times during the day to perform the ordinances of baptism.

The conference was held at Preston Sunday, April 8th. Between six and seven hundred Saints were present, and all the branches, it seems, were represented. Joseph Fielding was appointed to preside over the English mis-

sion, with Willard Richards and William Clayton as his counselors. These three brethren were ordained high priests. Forty persons were confirmed; about one hundred children blessed; and twenty souls baptized. The first meeting of this memorable conference continued without intermission from 9 in the morning till 5 in the afternoon. At 7 o'clock another meeting was held, at which the departing brethren made farewell addresses. When they spoke of parting, the people wept like children. It seemed impossible for these affectionate Saints to let the elders go.

On the 20th they embarked for home on the same vessel that had borne them so safely to England. Upon reaching New York they found that the two Pratt brothers had been instrumental in converting many persons there and establishing them into branches. On May 22d the missionaries reached home, which they had left a little over eleven months before.

This had been a wonderful mission. In all two thousand souls had been brought into the Church, four hundred of whom lived at Preston. About fifteen hundred of this number had been converted through the labors of Heber C. Kimball alone. This was an effectual door opened for the gospel in England. Since then tens of thousands of Britain's best people—the great middle class of that country—have embraced the truth and immigrated to Zion, where they have been a firm and substantial bulwark to "Mormonism" and to the Great West—the "something new" of which the Prophet spoke.

CHAPTER X

MISSOURI'S BLOODSTAINED ESCUTCHEON

No sooner had the Saints entered upon the full possession of their new home in upper Missouri than the heavens became suddenly black with clouds, and there broke upon their heads a storm such as paled into insignificance all former ones in their ill-starred career.

Election-day at Gallatin.

The first indications of trouble appeared at Gallatin, a small settlement in the vicinity of Diahman, in Daviess county. It was election-day there—August 6th, 1838,—and a man by the name of Peniston, a rabid anti-"Mormon," was running for office. Knowing that he could not count on the "Mormon" vote in the district, he set his heart on preventing the Saints from casting their ballots. Of this design on their rights as American citizens, however, the brethren had been informed some two weeks since by Judge Morin, who also advised them to go to the polls prepared to defend themselves. But "hoping for better things," they went there unarmed.

The Judge's friendly warning proved to be based upon sufficient grounds. For, about 11 o'clock, Peniston, mounted on a barrel, harangued the crowd gathered at the polls, calling the "Mormons" dupes, counterfeiters, liars, thieves, and other unsavory names, and adding that their presence in the county menaced the peace, prosperity, and property of the older settlers. This, of course, precipitated a fight between the two elements, which was begun by Peniston's men, but in which the brethren, thus provoked, strenuously maintained their ground. The mob, though outnumbering the "Mormons," retreated in disgrace, but in an hour or so

came back greatly increased in number, and armed with clubs, knives, and guns, ready to put a speedy end to their victorious foe. But no "Mormons" were to be found. Hastily casting their votes, the brethren had gone home to protect their families from an attack which they momentarily expected would be made. The whole of that night they spent out in the woods amid a drizzling rain.

News of this affray reached Far West next day, but in a greatly magnified form. Two or three of the brethren, it was reported, had been killed, their bodies still lying on the ground weltering in the hot sun, and the Gentiles were rising in great numbers to expel the "Mormons" from the county. Several brethren at the Caldwell town, including Joseph, armed themselves and hastened to the rescue, receiving additions to their number as they went. Arrived upon the scene and learning the facts in the case, they rested at Diahman. Next day, being in the vicinity of Adam Black's, they called upon that person to ascertain his attitude, as a public officer, respecting the recent election troubles. They obtained the following literary curiosity, which, however, as a statement of his real feelings, proved woefully misleading:

"I, Adam Black, a Justice of the Peace of Daviess county, do hereby Sertify to the people, coled Mormin, that he is bound to suport the Constitution of this State, and of the United State, and he is not attached to any mob, nor will he attach himself to any such people, and so long as they will not molest me, I will not molest them."

On the day following this (Aug. 9th), a meeting between the Prophet, his brother Hyrum, Lyman Wight, and a few others, acting for the "Mormon" population of Daviess county, and Joseph Morin, State senator-elect, John Williams, State representative-elect, James B. Turner, clerk of the circuit court, and several others, acting for the old

citizens, was held at Diahman. Each party agreed to preserve the peace, and to deliver up to the law all offenders within their ranks. This done, the company from Far West returned home, felicitating one another upon the successful issue of what had threatened to become a very troublesome affair.

But the fire had not been really put out; it smouldered still, and a few breaths soon revived it into a flame and then into a conflagration that nothing seemed likely to extinguish. Peniston made an affidavit before Judge King to the effect that his life was endangered by a company of "Mormons," then in the county, of a "highly insurrectionary character," that Adam Black had been compelled by them "to submit to great indignity" by being forced, "on pain of immediate death, to sign a paper writing of a very disgraceful character," and that these "Mormons" threatened "to do the same to all the old settlers." This was reinforced, on the 28th of the month, by an affidavit made before Justice Dryden by Black himself, swearing to similar falsehoods, adding that the "Mormons" had expressed their determination "not to submit to the laws." About the same time that these untruths were given general circulation, a rumor spread to the effect that the Prophet had refused to be arrested by the proper officer on a regular warrant. The facts were that Joseph had merely objected to being put on trial in Daviess county where the judges and the jury might be browbeaten by his enemies into convicting him; he wished rather to be tried in his own county; and the sheriff had acquiesced in the matter. Later, however, on the advice of General Atchison, the Prophet and Lyman Wight were tried in Daviess county, but their chief accuser—Peniston—failed to put in an appearance, and they were accordingly bound over to appear at the next session of the district court. Meanwhile, on the strength of these affidavits and false rumors, the aid of a

number of other counties was secured to drive the "Mormons." Ostensibly this ill-will of the mob element confined itself to the "Mormon" population of Daviess county; but in reality, as there is abundant evidence to show, it embraced all the "Mormons" in upper Missouri. The most alarming stories of atrocities alleged to have been committed by the Saints flooded the country, till one would have imagined—and, doubtless many did imagine—that these harmless people were more akin to the savages just across the borders than to civilized beings.

All this, with a complaint of Justice Dryden's that the "Mormons" would not submit to the law, found its way into documents, which were despatched to Governor Boggs. The result was the formation of a mob of more than two hundred, which threatened the peace of Diahman, but which was held at bay by an armed company of the brethren at that place under the command of Lyman Wight; and the issuance of orders by the Governor to General Atchison to raise "four hundred mounted men, armed and equipped as infantry or riflemen," and hold them in readiness either to put down any Indian disturbances on the frontier or those that might arise from the "Mormons" in Daviess, Caldwell, or Carroll counties. In the meantime, two men while on their way from Richmond with guns and ammunition for the mob, were taken prisoners by a small company of the brethren near Far West, but were shortly afterwards turned over to General Doniphan, as also were the arms.

Early in September General Doniphan with four companies of fifty each marched to Daviess county and took up his position between the mob under Dr. Austin, of Carroll county, and the "Mormon" forces under Col. Wight, at Diahman. To both he read Atchison's orders to disperse. Lyman Wight objected to disband as long as the mob retained their arms. Dr. Austin, while professing that his

men, collected from various counties, were there wholly for self-defense, nevertheless "continued marching and counter marching." Later, when Atchison appeared with his companies, and ordered the mob to disperse, they made a pretense of doing so, but only about half of their number really obeyed. The "Mormons," according to Atchison's report to Governor Boggs, "appeared to be acting on the defensive," and Wight, whom he describes, as "a bold brave, skillful, and desperate man," gave up the offenders "with a good deal of promptness." All the troops, except two companies, were dismissed, and these, under General Parks, were to remain there only till "peace and confidence" were restored. General Parks, in his communication to the Governor, dated Sept. 25th, declares that the "Mormons" had not to him manifested any disposition to resist the laws, or any hostile intentions. "There has been so much prejudice and exaggeration concerned in this matter," he continues, "that I found things entirely different from what I was prepared to expect." Previously to his arrival there, a committee consisting of "Mormons" and non-"Mormons" had been appointed for the purpose of negotiating terms for buying or selling out on the part of one or the other. But Parks stated in this report that, according to information he had received, it was "the determination of the Daviess county men," in case the committee could not agree, "to drive the Mormons with powder and lead." Nevertheless, peace seemed to be restored in this part of Missouri.

Beleaguered De Witt.

That portion of Austin's band of mobocrats which refused to disperse at the orders of General Atchison, proceeded to De Witt, a little "Mormon" settlement about fifty miles southeast of Far West, in Carroll county. It comprised, at the time, not above seventy families, most of whom, having only

recently come there from Ohio and other eastern points, were still for the greater part occupying their tents and wagons, though they were hastening their preparation of better quarters for the on-coming winter. As early as the 12th of September a band of from one hundred to one hundred and fifty men had threatened to drive and kill the Saints there unless they were gone by the first of the month. The latter, however, undaunted by these illegal demands, appealed to the Governor, who for some reason paid no attention to their petition. When, therefore, the "Mormons" were still found at De Witt on the 2d of October, about fifty men rode up to their camps and began firing. On learning of these violent proceedings through an affidavit by Mr. Root, a non-"Mormon" of that place, General Parks, with his two companies, marched from Diaham to disperse the mob. But his men mutinied, and he returned to Grand River.

By this time, Austin had united his forces with those already there, making a mob-collection of nearly three hundred. Failing to dislodge the "Mormons," they determined on a siege. They completely surrounded the place, shut o every avenue of escape, and guarded every road and path leading from the settlement. Having but a small supply of provisions on hand, the beleaguered Saints felt almost immediately the results of this barbarity. At first they were reduced to rations; but soon there was nothing to divide. With what grateful emotions did these hungry people look upon a cow or an ox that strayed, miraculously as it seemed, into the camp; and with what speed was it despatched, without any questions as to its owner! Once, in their extremity for flour, they gave a stranger money with which to buy a quantity, but neither he nor the money was seen again. On another occasion a brother generously offered to kill and dress a favorite team of oxen which he had recently pur-

chased. When, however, he made his appearance beyond the skirts of the settlement to get the animals, he was shot at by the mob; and he returned, having narrowly escaped with his life. Many of the Saints, not having adequate shelter, suffered a good deal from sickness.

While they were in this sad plight, the Prophet Joseph, with a few companions from Far West, suddenly made his appearance. He had come to give what advice and sympathy he could, having traversed unfrequented paths through the woods under cover of darkness. The situation was now too far advanced, however, to permit of any compromise. Nothing but a total abandonment of their homes would satisfy the mob. About this time intelligence came to the Saints from two different quarters, which thoroughly disheartened them, One was news that General Parks's troops had threatened to join the mob. The other was an answer to a communication, with affidavits, which a number of friendly non-"Mormons" had sent the Governor. "The quarrel," said that unfeeling magistrate, "is between the Mormons and the mob, and they must fight it out!"

Despairing of peace, escape, or succor, the Saints consented to leave. Their property was to be appraised, so that they should lose nothing. Besides, the mob graciously condescended not to molest them while they were going! So they loaded their wagons with the sick or the otherwise helpless, together with what goods they were able to carry with them, and began their weary march towards Far West. All their real estate had, indeed, been appraised, but nothing had been said about the personal property which they had lost, nor the cattle which their enemies had wantonly shot down. Members of the mob, violating as usual the terms which they themselves had dictated, fired random shots at the retreating figures, and sent up in flames the combustible property that had been left behind. On the way several

brethren died, and one woman, still unrecovered from childbirth, passed away. All were buried without ceremony in unmarked graves by the river side. The company, worn and emaciated, reached Far West toward the middle of the month.

The First Martyr-Apostle.

One midnight, a few days after the arrival of the De Witt Saints in Caldwell county, the inhabitants of Far West were aroused by a loud trumpet blast. In a few minutes the public square was thronged with men who were eagerly inquiring for the cause of so unexpected a note. Joseph Holbrook had just arrived from the region of Log Creek, about fifteen miles south of town, with the startling intelligence that Captain Bogart, a mobocrate and one of the bitterest enemies of the Saints, with a company of forty armed men, was intimidating the brethren there, stealing horses and provisions, and ordering the inhabitants to leave on pain of death. No sooner was this generally known, than seventy-five men volunteered their services to go against the mob, and were put in charge of Captain David W. Patten. Since this company was ordered out by Elias Higbee, the first judge in the county, who had legal authority to do so, and since Patten held a commission in the State militia, it is perfectly clear that this body was in every respect within the law.

Parley P. Pratt, who was a member of the expedition, has most graphically reproduced for us the scene of this famous company marching from Far West to none knew exactly where. The night was dark. In front of them great red flames shot up from the burning prairie like "a thousand meteors, throwing a fitful gleam of light upon the distant sky." Serious reflections were produced in the minds of the most careless by "the silence of the midnight, the rumbling sounds of the trampling steeds over the hard surface

of the plain, the clank of the swords in their scabbards, the occasional gleam of bright armor in the flickering firelight, the gloom of surrounding darkness, and the unknown destiny of the expedition, or even the people who sent it forth."

As the first streaks of dawn colored the east, they came to a bend in Crooked river, which, at this point, is deeply embedded in a gulch, and which was then thickly fringed with trees and underbrush. They paused for a moment on the hill, their forms dimly outlined against the morning sky. Then they began to descend. Suddenly a voice broke the stillness—

"Who comes there?" and almost at the same instant a report of a gun sounded. A young "Mormon" named O'Banion fell, mortally wounded.

There was no doubt now that they were upon the enemy. They therefore rushed down the embankment, shouting their watchword—"God and Liberty!" A short scrimmage followed. But Bogart and his men, after firing a few shots, made a precipitate retreat across the river. One of them, closely pursued by Captain Patten, suddenly wheeled round and shot him in the bowels. Gideon Carter also was shot, dying almost immediately; and eleven others were wounded, but not mortally.

Making use of some of the animals and wagons left by the fleeing mob and improvising litters to carry their dead and wounded, the company returned home a mournful procession. Five miles out from Far West they were met by friends and relatives, who had heard the result of the engagement. Patten's wounds distressed him so much that he begged to be taken into a house to die. Shortly afterwards he passed away one of the first victims of this wretched persecution, whispering consolation to his broken-hearted wife. "Oh, do not deny the faith, whatever else you do," were his last words to her. Young O'Banion died about the same

time. Both were buried with military honors, mourned sincerely by a whole community. "Brother David Patten was a very worthy man," said the Prophet, "beloved by all good men who knew him." And at the funeral he remarked, pointing to the remains of the deceased apostle, "There lies a man that has done just as he said he would—he has laid down his life for his friends!"

On the Grand.

Exaggerated reports of this brief conflict spread over the country like a great prairie fire. A Reverend Sashiel Woods, for instance, sent word to Governor Boggs that all of Bogart's company, "amounting to between fifty and sixty men, were massacred by the Mormons at Buncombe, twelve miles north of Richmond, except three." And the pious man went on to say, "This statement you may rely on as being true." Judge Ryland, also, wrote a letter to Messrs. Rees and Williams, then on their way to Jefferson city to lay before the Governor the state of affairs in Upper Missouri, in which he asserted that a "Mormon" force had cut off Bogart's "whole company of fifty men." Both communications alleged that the Saints had threatened to sack and burn Richmond, the latter describing, with great agitation of the pen, the horrified feelings of the old settlers. "We know not the hour or minute we will be laid in ashes," read one hysterical sentence in the Presbyterian preacher's letter,—"our country is ruined —for God's sake give us assistance as quick as possible!" And the legal thoughts of the Judge ran in the drection of driving the obnoxious "Mormons" indiscriminately from the State. "The Mormons," he said, "must leave, or we will one and all."

There can be no doubt that great excitement prevailed throughout all the counties adjacent to Caldwell, and that in fact many people believed that there existed abundant cause

for alarm. But that there was any real danger except, indeed, to the Saints, no competent historian with the facts before him can justly maintain today. There was an unfortunate combination of circumstances that threw a false light over the motives and conduct of the Saints, which appeared to justify the worst apprehensions of the non-"Mormon" population.

One of these lay in the rancorous feelings of apostates. Marsh, as we have seen, testified before a justice of the peace that the Prophet Joseph entertained bloody intentions respecting the United States government, that the "Mormons" had secret societies for the purpose of plundering and murdering the Gentiles, and that the Saints would burn Buncombe and Richmond and Liberty, if they were not let alone. It is probably unnecessary to state that the "Mormons" never even thought of such a thing; they were themselves very much alarmed. This affidavit was corroborated by Orson Hyde, another of the apostles. William E. M'Lellin, whose sentiments against his former friends were of the most murderous character, joined the enemy, aiding and abetting them in every movement.

Another element of the combination against the Saints was the rumor respecting the alleged "Danite Band." According to Sidney Rigdon, there existed an organization among some of those claiming membership in the Church, the purpose of which was "mutual protection against the bands that were forming and threatened to be formed for the professed object of committing violence on the property and persons of the citizens of Daviess and Caldwell counties." They had their signs and passwords, which were secret, and were bound by their own rules not to injure anyone not actually engaged "in acts of violence against the persons or property of their own number, or one of those whose life and property they had bound themselves to defend." The

Prophet also refers to such an organization, though both he and Rigdon positively disclaim any connection with the Society. From Joseph's language, one would infer that in the hands of the unscrupulous Dr. Avard, its probable founder, it promised to become a desperate and dangerous organization. But when Avard's conduct in the matter came to light, and when neither the men whom he endeavored to control nor the Prophet and President Rigdon would do his bidding, he was cut off the Church, after which he sought to attribute to the "Mormon" leaders the horrible oaths of vengeance that originated in his own vile heart. There is not an iota of evidence to show that this organization originated with the Church, that it received any encouragement from any of the Church authorities, or that the society which was formed at this time in Caldwell county committed, or intended to commit, the crimes with which it is charged. On the contrary, if one hundredth part of the atrocities alleged to have been committed by that short-lived and really defensible organization in Missouri, are true, the institution, according to every principle avowed, then and now, by "Mormonism," would plunge its members and all who encouraged it into eternal perdition. But the false and utterly groundless charges lodged against the Church on this score accomplished as much injury as if they were true.

A third source of irreparable mischief arose from the low cunning of some of the mob, who laid at the doors of the "Mormons" their own acts of depredation. Finding themselves thwarted on every hand, by regular troops, in their attempts to expel the Saints from Daviess county, the mob there, in imitation of a reprobate family at the Heatherly settlement, in Mercer county, some two years before, actually set fire to their own log huts, and then sent up the cry that the Mormons had done it. In like manner they would commit outrages on the "Mormons" whom they managed to

capture, in order to provoke an attack from the Saints, that they might have a pretext on which to act. Besides, whenever a company of "Mormons," called out by the proper authorities, went against a mob, the result was magnified beyond all recognition, as was the case in the Crooked river affair. These slanders were eagerly taken up by jealous preachers and scheming politicians and sent over the country in order to inflame the popular sentiment against the Saints. The real facts never reached the general ear, or, if they did, were never credited, as being inconsistent with what the people had already heard concerning the "Mormons" themselves.

The result of all this was that mobs arose in several different parts of the country and marched into Daviess county. The mob that expelled the Saints from De Witt left that place with the avowed purpose of securing the land which the "Mormons" occupied. A mob, under a man named Gillium was already there with the same motive. General Doniphan sent word to Far West that a body of eight hundred men was moving against the Saints in Daviess county, and gave orders for the Caldwell militia to march immediately to the scene of the difficulties. General Parks, on his return from De Witt, ordered Colonel Wight with a company to go against a mob that was committing depredations at Millport, with full authority to put a stop to mob violence wherever he found any. This mob had burned a house belonging to Don Carlos Smith, who was away on a mission at the time, after having driven his wife and two small children out into the snow. Before the intrepid Wight, the mobs fled in consternation, burning their own huts on the way, and sending runners throughout the country with the false statement that "the Mormons had riz."

Governor Boggs, acting upon the numerous letter that reached him about this time, issued an order to General

Clark on the 26th of October, authorizing him to raise two thousand men, with fifteen days' provisions, for the purpose of crushing "the armed force of Mormons," which had "expelled the inhabitants" of Daviess county from their homes, "pillaged and burnt their dwellings, driven off the stock, and destroyed their crops," and "burnt to ashes the towns of Gallatin and Millport," destroying all the records of the county! Next day he received, from Messrs. Rees and Williams, "information of the most appalling character" concerning the "open and defiant attitude" of the "Mormons" which changed the whole face of things." And the hasty autocrat thereupon issued his infamous "exterminating order." "The Mormons," he declared, "*must be treated as enemies and must be exterminated or driven from the state*, if necessary for the public good. Their outrages are beyond all description. If you can increase your force, you are authorized to do so, to any extent you may think necessary."

A Bloody Day.

On the 30th of October of this year there occurred at Haun's Mill—a "Mormon" settlement of about thirty families on Shoal Creek about sixteen miles east of Far West in Caldwell county—such a savage and dastardly massacre as makes a civilized imagination recoil with horror.

It was a pleasant day. The children sported on the banks of the creek, the women were busy with their household duties, the men were guarding the common property or gathering in the winter's food. They felt reasonably safe now from violence, for only the night before the enemy had made an agreement not to molest them as long as they remained quiet. The Prophet Joseph had, however, advised them to come to Far West, but having some property there, they were anxious not to lose it; and he acquiesced.

Suddenly, about 4 o'clock, from the woods a little north

of the town there burst out a band of more than two hundred armed men. David Evans ran out towards them waving his hat and crying peace. The leader fired a shot, which was the only answer, followed by a pause of about twelve seconds. Meantime, confusion reigned among the "Mormons." Some ran into an unchinked log house used as a blacksmith shop, others fled to the tents behind it, and still others escaped to the bushes on the creek below the house. Presently, the firing began. In all several hundred shots were discharged, some at the retreating figures of the fleeing men, women, and children, but most through the door and between the logs of the old shop. One woman was shot at, but was saved by falling over the trunk of a tree. A man dropped dead as he was clambering up the bank of the stream. Fifteen persons were wounded, some receiving five others twenty-three bullets. The arm of this one was shot off, the thigh or leg of that, and another was most brutally mangled. An aged veteran of the Revolution had remained in front of Haun's house, thinking that his past services in defense of his native land would shield him from violence; but his foes knew not the tongue of bravery and manly forbearance, and so they snatched the gun from his hand and shot him down with it, afterwards cutting and hacking the old soldier's body with a corn-cutter.

But the scene in the blacksmith shop was the most horrifying. Every avenue by which harm could be inflicted was diligently sought out. Two men, finding their comrades slain, drew their dead bodies over them, and by the sickening strategem of feigning death, escaped a similar fate. A boy of eight, after seeing his father and brother killed, imitated the example of the two men, escaped with his life, but was seriously wounded in the hip. His brother's death had come about in a singularly heartless manner. One of the mob had dragged him—a boy of ten years—from beneath

the bellows, whither he had crawled for safety, and deliberately blew off the upper part of his head, with a rifle, afterwards explaining this harrowing deed on the grounds that the boy would have grown up a "Mormon!" "It was no worse to shoot a "Mormon," says Bancroft, speaking of the feelings of the average Missourian of that time and locality, "than it was to shoot an Indian, and killing Indians was no worse than killing wild beasts." Having disposed in this manner of all the live people they could see, the mob withdrew, appropriating to their own use everything valuable they could find—horses, bedding, the contents of a trunk, and even a pair of new boots worn by one of the dead men!

What a scene was there that night! When quiet and the darkness came on, those who had escaped returned timidly and warily. They searched for their relatives among the slain and wounded, amid general grief and wailing. Next morning the bodies were hurriedly thrown into an old well and covered with straw and earth, for the survivors of this day were in constant apprehension lest the mob should return to finish their horrible butchery. In this lamentable affair nineteen persons were put to death.

The Treachery of a "Mormon" Colonel.

We have now reached the final stage of the "war." Far West, by the last of October, was crowded with Saints who had fled thither for protection from mob violence in outlying districts. Every house held two or three families, and there were many who were compelled to live in tents and wagons. Bedding, food,fuel,were divided with a generosity dictated by common danger and suffering; for the people, in their precipitate flight from the settlements, had left their property to satisfy the rapacity of those who had expelled them thence. So while they were making the best shift they could at Far West for food and shelter, their fields of unharvested

grain and corn were trampled down and their horses and cattle either driven off or shot.

On the evening of the 30th, just as the sun was disappearing, the citizens of this town might have been seen straining their eyes to distinguish an approaching body of men. At first they conceived it to be their own company of one hundred and fifty sent out that morning to reconnoitre the surrounding country. But it was too large for that; besides, there was apparently a train of baggage wagons. Perhaps, then, it was a friendly troop coming to their aid. Instead, however, it was the Governor's army sent to execute his monstrous order of the 26th, of which this was the first notification the "Mormon" people had received. In answer to a truce-flag sent out by the mob-militia a messenger went out from the city to meet him. "We want you to send us three persons—the Lightner family—before we destroy the rest!" The message was communicated to the persons named, who were non-"Mormons." "The Mormons have treated us fairly," they replied, "and we will die with them." The Saints spent that night in throwing up a breastwork of earth and logs and lumber between them and the army. At the same time the troops, which already numbered more than two thousand, received additions in the arrival of a large company fresh from the Haun's Mill massacre, and Gillium's men all tricked out in the paint and feathers of Indian warriors, who had affectionately dubbed their captain the "Delaware Chief."

Towards evening on the 31st, the Prophet says he was waited upon by Colonel Hinkle, who had charge of the Far West militia, and who stated that the officers of the army "desired to have an interview with him and some others, hoping that the difficulties might be settled without having occasion to carry into effect the exterminating orders." Accordingly, Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Lyman Wight,

Parley P. Pratt, and George W. Robinson accompanied Hinkle to a point midway between the city and the place of encampment. Here Lucas was stationed with fifty militiamen as a guard.

"General Lucas," said the Colonel as he reached the spot, "these are the prisoners I agreed to deliver to you."

The brethren were thunderstruck. They had been decoyed there by their treacherous friend with the assurance that they were to confer with the officers respecting the settlement of the difficulties between the "Mormons" and the old settlers. General Lucas declares that Hinkle had solicited and obtained a secret conference with him, the upshot of which was that the Colonel agreed (1) to give up the Church leaders to trial and punishment, (2) to turn over all the property of those who had taken up arms for the purpose of paying for the damage done by them, (3) to see that the whole body of "Mormons" consented to leave the state, and (4) to give up all their arms, of whatever kind. This man had, therefore, not only taken upon himself the awful responsibility of settling the destiny of a whole people in thus giving (some say bartering) away their liberty, but used strategy and cunning to attain his evil ends.

The words we have quoted had no sooner left the Colenol's lips than General Lucas ordered his guard to surround the brethren—five in number and unarmed. Gillium's warriors, imitating the actions as they had done the dress of their savage prototypes, whooped and brandished their weapons like so many frantic devils. Wight says that five hundred guns were cocked and pointed at them on the instant. Then the prisoners were taken into the camp. All that night they lay out on the wet ground in a heavy rain, listening to the oaths, curses, obscene jokes and stories, and blasphemous language of their foul-mouthed guard. Next morning they were joined by Hyrum Smith and

Amasa Lyman, also prisoners. That day (Nov. 1st) a "court-martial" was held, which comprised, besides the regular officers, some seventeen preachers who took an active part in the deliberations. The decision of this religio-military body may be learned by Lucas's midnight order to General Doniphan:

"You will take Joseph Smith and the other prisoners into the public square of Far West, and shoot them at nine o'clock tomorrow morning." To which the officer addressed, in a mighty burst of indignation, replied: "It is cold-blooded murder. I will not obey your orders. My brigade shall march for Liberty tomorrow morning at eight o'clock; and if you execute these men, I will hold you responsible before an earthly tribunal, so help me God."

Majesty in Chains.

This bold stand on the part of General Doniphan probably saved the lives of the seven brethren. For next morning they were taken to Far West preparatory to leaving for Independence, Jackson county. The Saints gathered on the public square to take a last look of their beloved leaders. Elder Pratt, under a guard of three militiamen, went to his home. His wife lay in bed sick of a fever; an infant was at her breast and a little girl six years old by the bedside. Thrown across the foot of the bed was a woman who had sought the shelter of his home to endure the pangs of maternity. At sight of him his wife burst into tears. He endeavored to console her by assurances that he should not suffer the death his enemies had pronounced upon him; and bade her, as he kissed away her tears, to try to live for his sake and the children's. Embracing his little ones, he hastily withdrew to open the floodgates of his own grief. Approaching General Wilson, he described the condition of his family and begged not to be thus torn from them; but the

flint-hearted officer answered him with an exultant laugh and a volley of curses. The scene in which Joseph and Hyrum figured was not less heart-rending. They were not even permitted to speak with their wives and children. They yearned to administer a word of consolation to their stricken families, and to assure them that God would give their enemies no power over their lives; but only the mute language of the eye was permitted and the silent pressure of the hand. Their aged parents were overwhelmed with sorrow at the prospect of not seeing their sons again.

They were then driven to Independence, under a strong guard commanded by Generals Lucus and Wilson, who exhibited them on the way, and also in the public streets of that town, as trophies of honorable warfare! They were lodged chiefly at the Block House, though they received better treatment than they had hitherto. Here they remained till the 8th, when they were taken to Richmond for trial.

At Independence there occurred an incident which we cannot forbear relating, as it indicates the mettle of which so many of those early Saints were composed. Elder Pratt, awaking one morning before any of the rest and seeing a fine opportunity to make his escape, rose from his hard bed, on the floor, pillowed by a block of wood, and went to the door. This he found unlocked, for they were now but indifferently guarded. Opening it, he stepped out, and closed it carefully behind him. The snow was falling heavily. So much the better, he thought, for my tracks will be obliterated. Determined to see how far he could carry this attempt to escape, he left the jail, walking leisurely at first, then increasing his pace, till finally he discovered himself to be running at a high rate of speed. He stopped in a small grove about a mile out from the town. Thoughts of freedom beat high in his breast. He could escape to the East, send for his family, and live in peace and happiness. But what would become of

his companions in the meantime. No doubt they would lose their lives. He would then be a worse traitor than Hinkle. So he returned to his prison, greeting the brethren and the solitary guard with a cheerful good morning.

At Richmond their treatment was harsh. They were thrust into what General Doniphan afterwards appropriately called a "bull pen," and chained together. They were strongly guarded. Here they were visited by General Clark, of whom we shall learn more presently. Of him they inquired concerning the charges on which they were to be tried, and how, and when. By court-martial, Clark replied, purposely evading the other two questions. Could ministers of the gospel be tried in this manner, men who had never been connected with any military organization? They would find out soon. The General himself, however, seemed not to be altogether clear on this point. He labored in vain to find authority for such a high handed procedure. Finally, he delivered the brethren over to the civil law, and they were notified that they were to be tried on the charges of "murder, treason, burglary, arson, larceny, theft, and stealing."

It was here and under these circumstances that the dramatic scene occurred, which the limner's art and Elder Pratt's entrancing pen have made so familiar to us all. "In one of those tedious nights," says Parley, "we had lain as if in sleep till the hour of midnight had passed, and our ears and hearts had been pained, while we had listened for hours to the obscene jests, the horrid oaths, the dreadful blasphemies, and filthy language of our guards, Colonel Price at their head, as they recounted to each other the deeds of rapine, murder, robbery, etc., which they had committed among the 'Mormons' while at Far West and vicinity. They even boasted of defiling by force wives, daughters, and virgins, and of shooting or dashing out the brains of men, women and children. I had listened till I became so disgusted,

shocked, horrified, and so filled with the spirit of indignant justice that I could scarcely refrain from rising upon my feet and rebuking the guards; but had said nothing to Joseph, or any one else, although I lay next to him and knew he was awake. On a sudden he arose to his feet, and spoke in a voice of thunder, or as the roaring lion, uttering, as near as I can recollect, the following words:

"'*Silence, ye fiends of the infernal pit. In the name of Jesus Christ I rebuke you, and command you to be still; I will not live another minute and hear such language. Cease such talk, or you or I die this instant!*'

"He ceased to speak. He stood erect in terrible majesty. Chained, and without a weapon; calm, unruffled, and dignified as an angel, he looked upon the quailing guards, whose knees smote together, and who, shrinking into a corner, or crouching at his feet, begged his pardon, and remained quiet till a change of guards. I have seen the ministers of justice, clothed in magisterial robes, and criminals arraigned before them, while life was suspended on a breath, in the courts of England; I have witnessed a congress in solemn session to give laws to nations; I have tried to conceive of kings, of royal courts, of thrones and crowns; and of emperors assembled to decide the fate of kingdoms; but dignity and majesty have I seen but once, as it stood in chains, at midnight, in a dungeon in an obscure village of Missouri."

The trial of these brethren was the merest farce. The judge was Austin A. King, the district attorney a Mr. Birch, both of whom had been active members of the court-martial that had sentenced these very men to be shot. King proved himself a veritable Jefferies. The country was dragged for men who would testify against them—apostates and other enemies;—and all the witnesses, according to the reports of several, who were there sworn "at the point of the bayonet." One of them said something, on the stand, about

the belief of the "Mormons" in Daniel's latterday kingdom of God in its literal sense.

"Put that down," shouted the Court to the recorder, "it's a strong point for treason!" The examination for the State occupied fifteen days.

"Where are your witnesses?" cried the Judge, turning to the prisoners. They gave him a list of forty names. The subpoenas were put into the hands of Captain Bogart, who, with fifty men, proceeded to Far West. They brought back nearly all whose names had been given. But they were all clapped into jail. "Gentlemen," roared the Judge, addressing the seven brethren, "unless you produce your witnesses you will be remanded to prison. We cannot hold court open much longer." Twenty more names were given. But the Saints at Caldwell, having been warned of the court's tactics, evaded the military preacher, who, in consequence, returned to Richmond with only one person. Like the rest, he was thrust into jail. Still the Judge demanded rebuttal testimony, and when it was not forthcoming threatened to close the court next day. Tt this moment the prisoners happened to see a "Mormon" named Allen passing the window. He was called in and reluctantly allowed to be sworn. But he was forcibly taken out of the house before he could testify. And the court adjourned.

It would be a tedious repetition to follow in detail the ill-fortune of these brethren further. From Richmond Joseph and Hyrum Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Lyman Wight, Caleb Baldwin, and Alexander McRae were committed for treason and sent to Liberty jail, in Clay county; while Parley P. Pratt, Morris Phelps, Lyman Gibbs, Darwin Chase, and Norman Shearer were detained in Richmond jail on the charge of murder. The rest were either released or admitted to bail. Sidney Rigdon, who had suffered so much from sickness as actually to derange his mind for a time,

was subsequently released. The other five brethren in the first group were taken in April, to Daviess county and tried. A jury of men who had committed some of the most dastardly acts against the Saints, and who, moreover, performed duty as guard at night, indicted them for "treason, burglary, murder, arson theft, and stealing." The brethren were given a change of venue to Boon county, for which Judge Birch made out a mittimus without date, name, or place; and they were accordingly sent thither under a guard of five men. But one night on the way one of the guards said, "I'm going to bed, and you can do as you want to." He was so drunken as to be perfectly helpless. Three more guards, in the same confused state of mind, did the same. The fifth helped the brethren to saddle their horses. And so they escaped, joining the Saints and their families in Illinois, in the latter part of April, 1839, after an incarceration of nearly six months, without having had a trial. Parley P. Pratt, likewise untried during eight months, escaped from prison on the fourth of July, of the same year, and also his companions who had not been released before. The explanation of this long confinement of the brethren and their "escape" under these circumstances is, that the State authorities did not know what else to do with them. If the brethren were freed in the legal way, the implication was that they were innocent and the whole war upon the "Mormons" unjustifiable.

Another Exodus.

Meantime, what had become of the Saints at Far West? On the first of November the troops marched into the city, or more properly speaking, were turned loose upon the inhabitants of that town. They entered the houses of the Saints unbidden, insulted the inmates, and took possession of whatever articles struck their fancy. One of the conditions of surrender arranged between Colonel Hinkle and General

Lucas was that all the arms, the private property of the brethren, should be given up. The mob, therefore, for such the soldiers were in character, "under pretense of searching for arms, tore up floors, upset hay stacks, plundered the most valuable effects they could lay their hands on, and wantonly wasted and destroyed a great amount of property." Joseph says that they entered his house, drove out his family, and carried away most of what was in it. Members of this militia, in their brutal lust, violated the chastity of wives and daughters, under circumstances the most revolting, afterwards boasting of these unspeakable outrages in the presence of some of the brethren. One of the women was months in recovering from the effects of this fiendish treatment, and others, it is asserted, subsequently died from shame and mortification at what they looked upon as their disgrace. Many of the brethren were compelled at the muzzle of the rifle to sign deeds of trust to pay the expenses of this "war." But they took joyfully the spoiling of their goods. "Judge Cameron" according to Heber C. Kimball, "said with an oath, 'See them laugh and kick up their heels. They are whipped but not conquered.'" About eighty of the brethren were taken prisoners.

On the sixth, General Clark delivered an infamous address to the men at Far West. He went over the conditions of the "treaty." The first two had been complied with; the leaders were in custody, and the arms had been given up. Were it not done, he declared, their families would now have been destroyed and their houses be in ashes. After complimenting himself upon his clemency in dealing with them, he expressed his determination to execute the Governor's order of banishment. They need have no hopes for their leaders, he went on to say; their fate was fixed, their die was cast, their doom was sealed. He regretted extremely that "so many apparently intelligent men" were found

in their situation, and generously invoked "the spirit of the unknown god" to rest upon and deliver them from that "awful chain of superstition" and free them from "those fetters of fanaticism" with which they were bound. He counseled them to scatter out from now on and not again "organize themselves with bishops and priests," lest they excite the jealousy of the people and bring down calamity upon their heads. "You have always been the aggressors," he said, "you have brought upon yourselves these difficulties, by being disaffected and not being subject to rule." Then he left for Richmond to seal the "doom" which he had pronounced upon the "Mormon" leaders. "I was present when that speech was delivered," exclaims Elder Kimball, "and I can truly say, 'He is a liar and the truth is not in him!' "

From this time on, the most stringent restrictions were put upon the actions of the Saints. They were not to collect anywhere in bodies of more than five. Those in outlying settlements were to go to Far West. The Saints at Diahman had been given ten days in which to leave. And this just after a number of the brethren had been tried and acquitted by Adam Black! No one was to pass from one settlement to another nor out of the State without a signed permit. Heber C. Kimball declares that one afternoon he sent his son William on a short errand, when a guard threatened "to blow out his brains if he stepped one inch further." Committees of "Mormons" were appointed to gather up the stock in Daviess county, and to remove other property from there, each member wearing a badge on his hat by which he might he recognized.

Meanwhile active preparations were making to leave the State. In these, Apostle Brigham Young was the leader, by reason of his position as head of the Church in the absence of the First Presidency. Meetings of the brethren were held at which they were required to express their senti-

ments concerning the work of the Lord; resolutions were adopted binding those present to aid the poor to leave Missouri; and afterwards petitions were circulated pledging the signers to do all in their power to see that the needy were provided for. Accordingly, there were manifested among the Saints generally during this trying period great unselfishness, unity, and brotherly love. By April Missouri, which had proved only a land of pilgrimage for them, held but a few of the twelve thousand "Mormons" that had settled within her borders.

Your Cause is Just, But—

When the legislature met in December, a committee of nine drafted a petition, on behalf of the Saints, and forwarded it to the capital by David H. Redman. This very able document gave the principal points in the troubles that had occurred between them and the other citizens both in Jackson county and in Caldwell and Daviess counties, requested the legislature to rescind the order of Governor Boggs to drive them from the State, and asked for an appropriation sufficient to cover the amount taken from them in arms, about twelve thousand dollars. As to other damages they said nothing, since it would be impossible to obtain satisfactory evidence in the matter. The Governor in his message called the attention of the law makers to the "late disturbances."

The petition, which was listened to with profound silence, provoked a heated duscussion. Some wanted an immediate investigatiion of the whole affair, others took the ground that the very petition was an insult to the legislature, since it contained not a word of truth, and would best be got rid of immediately. A committee was appointted to examine and classify the documents relating to the difficulties, which have been presented by the Governor with his message, for the purpose of ascertaining the advisability of publishing

them. In its report to the legislature, this committee divided these papers into (1) the affidavits and correspondence preceding each series of authorized military operations, (2) the orders issued upon such evidence, (3) the military operations and correspondence consequent thereon, and (4) the evidence taken before a court of inquiry, held for the investigation of criminal charges against individuals. The committee thought it inexpedient "to prosecute further the inquiry into the causes of the late disturbances" and therefore to publish any of the documents; but suggested the appointment of a committee "to investigate the cause of said disturbances, and the conduct of the military operations in suppressing them." The report was adopted, and subsequently such a committee was provided for by a bill introduced by Mr. Turner, the chairman of the first committee, but it was laid on the table by a vote of forty-eight to thirty-seven, and never taken from it. When the session of 1840-41 met, the Governor again referred to the "Mormon insurrection," advising the publication of such documents as would "explain the attitude which we have been made to assume." A collection was accordingly prepared covering one hundred and sixty-two pages. "In the collection, however," says B. H. Roberts, "there are none of the statements, petitions, or representations made to the public or the legislature by the Saints. The documents consist in part of the action of the respective houses in the appointment of committees and reports of those committees recommending investigations, etc.; of the reports and military orders of the militia generals; while the remainder of the phamphlet is made up of the *ex parte* testimony taken before Judge King at Richmond, concerning which testimony the Turner senate committee in reporting to the senate pronounced manifestly 'not such evidence as ought to be received by the committee.'"

The legislature, however, did make an appropriation of two thousand dollars to be distributed among the people of

Daviess and Caldwell counties, the "Mormons" not excluded! The distributing committee "took a few miserable traps, the sweepings of an old store," together with a number of hogs which belonged to the Saints and which they had shot down and cut up without further bleeding, and divided these among "the poor Mormons as part of the legislative appropriation." Of these facts there is abundant proof. During the same session two hundred thousand dollars was appropriated to defray the expenses incurred in expelling the Saints from the State, in the execution of the Governor's exterminating order!

But the Saints were not satisfied with this disposition of the matter. They appealed their case to the President and the Congress of the United States.

Some time in May, 1840, the Prophet Joseph and Elias Higbee went to Washington for the purpose of laying their grievances before President Van Buren, reaching the national capital late in November. They had in their possession numerous affidavits, covering all phases of the Missouri affair, and also letters of introduction from prominent western men to the chief executive and some of the lawmakers at Washington. Calling on the President, they related their tragic story, to which he calmly replied: "Gentlemen, your cause is just, but I can do nothing for you. If I take up your cause, I shall lose the vote of Missouri." He was then meditating a second term. The brethren returned home, with no very exalted notion of the President and his Congress. Thus ended the last efforts of the Saints to obtain redress for their great loss of property and life in that State, and they rested they case with the Great Judge of all the earth.

Retribution.

Without question the crimes committed against the Saints by the people of Upper Missouri, are to be charged mainly to

the cowardice of Dunklin and the knavery of Boggs. The former refused to believe that any portion of his people would be guilty of doing what he had ample proofs before him that they are doing; the latter, when odds against the Saints were the greatest, said, "The quarrel is between the Mormons and the mob, and they must fight it out," and afterwards upon extremely questionable evidence issued his cruel and illegal edict to expel or exterminate the "Mormons," purposely selecting such leaders as would not scruple to carry out the order to the last hideous detail. Both Governors could have crushed the mob easily had the one possessed sufficient courage and the other sufficient honor. But they chose to adopt a different course, thus bringing upon the otherwise fair name of the State a weight of eternal shame.

The measure which the State meted to the Latter-day Saints—for the burden of guilt was shared now by the whole State in her legislative indifference—"shall be measured to them again," said Heber C. Kimball; "and upon those who had a hand in our persecution and expulsion, and those who consented to it, four-fold, full, running over, and pressed down; and as the Lord God Almighty liveth, I shall live to see it come to pass." And Joseph the Prophet had already declared that the Lord would "come out of his hiding-place and vex the nation with a sore vexation." These predictions were literally fulfilled in the horrors of the Civil War. And Missouri was literally baptized in fire and blood.

Governor Boggs, in 1838, taking the legislative, executive, and judicial powers in his own hands, issued his frightful order for the expulsion or banishment of twelve thousand people indiscriminately, at a cruel loss of property and life. Governor Jackson, at the opening of the Civil War, dragged the whole state into the Confederate ranks, after the people in a regular convention had expressed their de-

termination to remain in the Union, and after the legislature had refused to authorize his measures. Missouri presented a "spectacle of a state plunged into secession and civil war, not in obedience to, but in defiance of, the action of her constitution and the express will of her people—not even by any direct act of her legislature, but by the will of her executive alone." And the result was a scene of violence and bloodshed, unparalleled in any other state. General Fremont, who had been sent out there by Lincoln to put down the rebellion, said in his report: Circumstances, in my judgment, of sufficient urgency, render it necessary that the commanding general of this department should assume the administrative power of the State. Its disorganized condition, the helplessness of the civil authority, the total insecurity of life, and the devastation of property by bands of murderers and marauders, who infest nearly every county in the State, and avail themselves of the public misfortunes and the vicinity of a hostile force to gratify private and neighborhood vengeance, and who find an enemy wherever they find plunder, finally demand the severest measures to repress the daily increasing crimes and outrages which are driving off the inhabitants and ruining the State." The General's subsequent measures there were so arbitrary and rigorous as to put him in jeopardy for a time after the conclusion of the war; but he was exonerated from blame in view of the prevailing condition. Jackson county, especially, was the scene of devastation and violence. Almost the whole country went up in flames. Only the chimneys of the houses remained standing—dark sentinels of the burnt region. Even the inhabitants were driven off or taken prisoners. Today not a man descended from those who assisted in the drivings and expulsion of the Saints from Missouri can be found in the county. Their very memories have perished utterly.

"Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord, and I will repay!"

PART THIRD.

Nauvoo the Beautiful.

CHAPTER I

RISING FROM THE ASHES

Nothing exhibits better the marvelous recuperative power of "Mormonism" than the manner in which it flourished in Illinois. Stripped and peeled when they entered that state, these Latter-day Saints almost immediately sprang up into a community on the banks of the Mississippi the like of which was not to be found in western America, so happy and prosperous were they, with a city and a temple, with institutions, civic, military, and religious, the wonder and admiration of all who beheld them.

The Exiles at Quincy.

For that journey from Caldwell county, in Missouri, had proved a saddening affair. President Young, who had been forced to flee the country before he had finished the preparations to move his people, left his family eleven times and returned to aid those who were not able to go without assistance. Samuel H. Smith and seven other brethren were pursued for many miles by a band of Missourians who had sworn to do them violence, but who were prevented from accomplishing their fell designs by the timely appearance of a blinding snow-storm. Their provisions having given out before they reached their destination, these brethren were compelled to subsist on barks and buds. Joseph and Lucy Smith parents of the now imprisoned Prophet, had to borrow a

wagon and team with which to leave Missouri. During the earlier portion of their journey, it rained incessantly, and in the end it snowed several inches. Lucy says that she walked a good part of the way to relieve the team; and while waiting to cross the Mississippi, they had to spread their beds on the snow, and this white mantle they found also to cover them next morning. The aged Patriarch, during these exposures, contracted consumption, from which disease he died in September, 1840, a victim of Missouri mobs. And the Smiths were only one family in many hundreds to endure the sufferings and hardships of this forced exodus.

Quincy, Illinois, was the immediate refuge of the exiles. This town, with a population at the time of only a few thousands, is situated on the east bank of the "Father of Waters," one hundred and sixty miles southwest of Chicago. The inhabitants of this place, as indeed the people generally of the state, were shocked at the conduct of Missouri toward the "Mormons." The Quincy *Argus* dealt out unmeasured condemnation to Governor Boggs, and his exterminating army. "We could wish," it declared editorially, "that Missouri's star were stricken from the bright constellation of the Union." The Governor of Illinois, too,—Carlin—approved "with enthusiasm" a plan of Sidney Rigdon's for impeaching Missouri at the bar of the States, and gave him letters of introduction to the nation's President and the Governor of Ohio, as "a man of piety and a valuable citizen."

Unfortunately, however, charity seems not to have been the only motive which led the Illinoisians to receive the outcast "Mormons." They evidently had political and commercial reasons as well for their humane actions. It was on the eve of a presidential election, and the politicians were not slow to see the advantage of having the "Mormon" vote on their side. Thus, unconsciously perhaps to the Saints and their benefactors alike, a snare was being laid before the feet

of the unwary "Mormons," into which they were unwittingly to step a few years later. However, Illinois, though not a railroad or a canal had been completed, was in debt more than fourteen million dollars. "The impossibility of selling," observes Governor Ford in his *History of Illinois*, "kept us from losing population; the fear of disgrace or high taxes prevented us from gaining materially." The county of Hancock, according to the census of 1830, contained fewer than five hundred inhabitants as compared with thirty-two thousand, in 1900.

The initiative step in welcoming the Saints was taken by the Democratic Association of Quincy. Several meetings were held, at which resolutions were passed expressing sympathy for the afflicted Saints. The society affirmed the "rights of conscience" to have been grossly violated by "the inhabitants of the western frontier of Missouri," and advised the people of Quincy to give material assistance to the "Mormons," and likewise to abstain from the use of expressions that might wound the sensibilities of the newcomers. And the Quincyites were not slow to act upon this advice, for they showed great kindness to them.

Our people, on their part, were careful not to abuse this generosity. Apostle Taylor wrote a letter to the *Argus* expressing gratitude for the way in which the "Mormons" had been treated, and warned the inhabitants of Quincy and vicinity against being imposed upon by persons who claimed membership in the Church, but who had either been expelled from the society for unchristian conduct or had never belonged to it. He disclaimed fellowship with those "who had contracted habits which were at variance with principles of moral rectitude"—from whom the people of Quincy stood most in danger—and those also who were inclined "to abuse philanthropy and benevolence" by endeavoring to work up the feelings of the charitable and humane, get into

their debt without any prospect or intention of paying," and then of shifting the odium of bad character upon the Church.

Commerce.

Meanwhile efforts were being made to find a new home for this wandering nation of "Mormons." Before the arrival of the Prophet, in the latter part of April, nothing definite had been done, though two conferences had been held—one in February and another in April—to consider some offers of land by a Dr. Isaac Galland. But two days had not passed since Joseph's coming before he, Bishop Knight, and Alanson Ripley were on their way to examine the tracts of land offered for sale. This resulted in the purchase of two farms of Dr. Galland; one of one hundred and thirty-five acres for five thousand dollars; and another, a larger one, for nine thousand. This was at what was called Commerce. Subsequently, other purchases were made, one especially of five hundred acres for fifty-three thousand dollars. All were on easy terms, the latter, for instance, one-half in ten years, and the rest in twenty years. Later, a tract of land, some twenty thousand acres in Lee county, Iowa, was bought. And there were still other purchases made.

Commerce was situated about fifty miles above Quincy, and lay in a majestic curve of the Mississippi, half encircled by water. For a mile or so eastward from the river the ground rose gradually and then broke off into a waving prairie, extending for many miles and covered with a variety of flowers. But this part of the country was at the time unfavorable for human habitation, though a few cabins had been erected there. "The land was mostly covered with trees and bushes, and much of it was so wet that it was with difficulty that a footman could get through, and totally impossible for a team." Nevertheless, with that keen awareness to a fine situation which has always characterized the leaders

of the Church, Joseph chose this place at which to build a city. Opposite Commerce, across the river, was Montrose, where were some old barracks.

As soon as this selection of a site for their new home had been made, the Saints began gathering there. At first, families occupied all the old houses that were available, some lived in tents and wagons and others were satisfied with the open air. Apostles Woodruff and Young, with their families, occupied a room, fourteen feet square, at Montrose, formerly used by the soldiers; and when the latter moved into other quarters with his wife and children, Orson Pratt and his family moved into it with Brother Woodruff.

It was here and under these conditions that occurred what President Woodruff called a day of God's power—July 22, 1839. The shattered bodies of the Saints proved too weak for the ravages of disease germs lurking in the place,and almost everybody there became ill. Joseph had given up his house to the sick and lodged in a tent in the door-yard. On the morning of this day he rose, after reflecting upon the sufferings of the Saints and praying that God would mitigate these, and began a marvelous course of healing. First, he administered to the sick in his own house and door-yard, then those on the east side of the river, afterwards, with a number of the Twelve, crossing over to Montrose. All recovered under his hands. One case is especially noticeable.

Elijah Fordham lay, at Montrose, unconscious, with the death-glaze in his eye. He had been dying for an hour, and every moment was thought to be his last. Joseph and his fellow apostles entered the room where he lay.

"Elijah, do you know me?" whispered the Prophet. At first, he received no answer, but repeated the question till the sick man, under the influence of the Spirit, rallied and said faintly that he did.

"Have you faith to be healed?"

"I am afraid it is too late. If you had come sooner, I think it might have been."

"Do you believe that Jesus is the Christ?"

"I do, Brother Joseph, I do."

Then the Prophet, "as with the voice of God," uttered the words: "Elijah, I command you, in the name of Jesus of Nazareth, to arise and be made whole."

And the sick man rose, leaping from his bed, asked for and ate some food, and followed the brethren on their tour of healing.

As Joseph was about to return to Commerce, a man came up, a non-"Mormon," having heard of this strange miracle, and asked that the Prophet heal his twins at his home two miles distant. Joseph, taking out a handkerchief from his pocket, gave it to Brother Woodruff with the request that he put it upon the children's faces as he administered to them, remarking at the same time, "As long as you keep that handkerchief, it shall remain a league between you and me." Apostle Woodruff did as the Prophet directed, and the children were healed.

In April, 1840, the name Commerce was changed to Nauvoo. The word was declared by the Prophet Joseph to signify "beautiful" with an idea also of rest. By June of this year, two hundred and fifty houses had been built there.

The Growth of the City.

In December, 1840, the legislature passed a bill incorporating the City of Nauvoo. The charter was the work chiefly of the Prophet, who said that he had made it "on principles so broad, that every honest man might dwell secure under its protecting influences." And indeed it was a noble instrument. It provided for a city council consisting of a mayor, four aldermen, and nine councilors to be elected by the quali-

fied voters of the city. Every religious society, of whatever name or nature, was guaranteed protection. "Should any person," one section declared, "be guilty of ridiculing and abusing, or otherwise deprecating another, in consequence of his religion, or of disturbing or interrupting any religious meeting within the limits of this city, he shall, on conviction before the mayor or municipal court, be considered a disturber of the peace, and fined in any sum not exceeding five dollars, or imprisoned not exceeding six months, or both, at the discretion of said mayor and court."

The first election was held in the following February. John C. Bennett, was chosen mayor; William Marks, Samuel H. Smith, Daniel H. Wells, and Newel K. Whitney, were made aldermen; Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Charles C. Rich, John T. Barnett, Wilson Law, Don Carlos Smith, J. P. Greene, and Vinson Knight, were elected councilors. The mayor was a physician who had recently joined the Church and who had performed some valuable services to the "Mormon" people in connection with the charter. But we shall hear more of him anon. Daniel H. Wells, who was a non-"Mormon" at the time, had been living at Commerce for a year or so before the settlement of the Saints there. The first two acts of the new city government were an expression of gratitude to the legislature for granting the charter and to the people of Quincy for their kindness, and an ordinance prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors in Nauvoo.

The charter provided also for the organization of an independent militia to be called the Nauvoo Legion. This military body, said the Prophet in an epistle to the Saints abroad, "embraces all our military power, and will enable us to perform our military duty by ourselves, and thus afford us the power and privilege of avoiding one of the most fruitful sources of strife, oppression and collision with the world.

It will enable us to show our attachment to the State and Nation, as a people, whenever the public service requires our aid, thus proving ourselves obedient to the paramount laws of the land, and ready at all times to sustain and execute them." The election of officers resulted in the choice of Joseph Smith for lieutenant-general; John C. Bennett, major-general; Wilson Law, brigadier-general of the first cohort; and Don Carlos Smith, brigadier-general of the second cohort. Subsequently, these men received commissions from the Governor. In 1844 this body of militia numbered about five thousand men.

Provisions were also made by this charter "for the teaching of the arts and sciences, and learned professions" at a university to be established within the limits of the city. Soon after the machinery of the city government were set, the council passed an ordinance according to which a chancellor and regents were appointed. There were no funds at the time either for buildings or equipments, but a site was chosen and plans drawn for the proposed structure.

Meantime, ecclesiastical organizations were effected. The twelve thousand and more Saints in Illinois who settled chiefly in Adams and Hancock counties, in that state, and in Lee county, Iowa, were augmented from time to time by Saints from England, who began emigrating in 1840. In this year about two hundred and forty arrived at Nauvoo; in 1841, nine hundred; in 1842, nearly twelve hundred; 1843, between seven and eight hundred; and it is estimated that while the "Mormons" lived in Illinois, about five thousand Saints emigrated from the old world. Nauvoo rapidly grew into the largest city in the state, having a population of from twenty to twenty-five thousand in 1844.

As early as October, 1839, two stakes were organized, one on the Illinois and the other on the Iowa side of the river. The former was presided over by William Marks, the

latter by John Smith. In the following year other stakes were organized in Hancock, Adams, and Morgan counties, but in May, 1841, all stakes outside of Lee and Hancock counties, were abandoned and the Saints advised to come to the latter county. The city, too, was divided into wards, with bishops and counselors.

Quorums, likewise, were made complete. The death, in September, 1840, of Joseph Smith, Sen., had left vacant the office of Patriarch to the Church, and there were six vacancies in the quorum of Twelve. Hyrum Smith, who had been second counselor to Joseph since the removal of Frederick G. Williams, was made Patriarch, William Law taking his place in the First Presidency. John Taylor, John E. Page, Willard Richards, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith, and Lyman Wight were ordained apostles and members of the quorum of Twelve, during this Nauvoo period.

In May, 1842, the Female Relief Society was organized, with Emma Smith as President; Elizabeth Ann Whitney, and Sarah M. Cleveland, counselors; Elvira Cowles, treasurer; and Eliza R. Snow, secretary. Its object was to help the poor, nurse the sick, relieve the wants of the widows and orphans, and to exercise all benevolent functions. This organization has since become one of the great institutions in the Church. In March of the following year, a Young Gentlemen's and Ladies' Relief Society was organized, with William Cutler as its president; but this organization has no existence at present.

Nor did the Saints neglect the work of the press. In November, 1839, a monthly periodical called the *Times and Seasons* was begun, with Don Carlos Smith as editor and manager. Later, Joseph himself became editor, but when he became too busy with the increased duties of President, he resigned the editorial chair to John Taylor. William Smith, in April, 1842, established a weekly paper, *The Wasp*, which,

in May, 1843, became the *Nauvoo Neighbor*, with John Taylor as editor.

Thus Nauvoo rose very quickly from the marshland, reaching its high water mark of splendor in 1844; and the "Mormon" Church assumed proportions in Illinois such as the most sanguine expectations would not have predicted in that melancholy winter of 1838-9. "The curve in the river," observes Josiah Quincy, who visited the city a few days before the Prophet's death, "enclosed a position lovely enough to furnish a site for the Utopian communities of Plato or Sir Thomas More, and here was an orderly city, magnificently laid out, and teeming with activity and enterprise." A great community had here reared "handsome stores and comfortable dwellings," with a temple—"a wonderful structure"—under way on the brow of the elevation which overlooked the city. The fame of Nauvoo went abroad, and tourists came from all parts of America and from Europe to see the marvels that the "Mormon" Prophet and his people had wrought. And that work had indeed been nothing short of miraculous. That a few thousand people, straggling into Illinois in 1839, homeless and without property, fleeing from the enraged feelings of their old-time neighbors across the borders, should in so brief a period have built up such a city and such a community as Nauvoo was at this time, is surely one of the great material enterprises of a great industrial age. It was a veritable rising from the ashes.

Having thus given a general idea of the growth of Nauvoo, we may now project upon this background the various scenes of activity to which this famous city was a witness.

CHAPTER II

"ACROSS THE GREAT WATERS"

First, however, it will be necessary to speak of two important missions that were taken into foreign countries by members of the Twelve—one to Jerusalem, in Palestine, and another to England.

The Return of Israel.

Probably no people who are not themselves Jews are so much concerned in the Jewish race as the Latter-day Saints. Indeed, the fortunes of these two people are very closely connected. This partly because the latter, according to patriarchal blessings, are mainly descended from the tribes of Israel; partly because of the relation that will exist between the Zion of the New World and the Zion of the Old when both are established. At all events, the Saints have always been deeply interested in eveyrthing that is associated with the Promised Land and the wandering nations of Judah.

At a conference held at Commerce in April, 1840, Apostle Orson Hyde was appointed to a mission to Palestine. What first led to this, most likely, was a vision he once had, in which he saw himself standing on the Mount of Olives pouring out blessings upon the land preparatory to the return of the Jews, as predicted in their Record. Leaving Nauvoo in the middle of this month, he journeyed through the States "without purse and scrip," preaching by the way, crossed the sea to England, passed through Germany, where he remained some time studying the language, went thence to Constantinople, Cairo, and Alexandria, and, after enduring many hardships, finally reached Jerusalem in October,

1841. He stood upon the sacred Mount, as he had seen himself in vision, and prayed that God would remove the curse from the Holy Land, and plant in the hearts of the children of Jacob a desire to build up the waste places of their native country. According to the ancient custom of this people, he erected a pile of stones in witness of what he had done. He did the same on Mount Zion. Then he returned to his people in America.

It may be of interest to know that when Elder Hyde performed this apostolic act of dedicating the land of Palestine, there were no indications of what has since become an immense tide of Jewish immigration to their ancient home. In 1841 there were only a few huts on the site formerly occupied by the City of the Great King, whereas it has now a population of between sixty and seventy thousand; besides throughout Palestine the Jews "are buying farms and establishing themselves in a surprisingly rapid manner." The Spirit of gathering has been poured out upon this ill-starred race, and they are burning to reunite under the banner of their ancient name. It is a curious fact, however, that they do not, as a rule, admit that they gather in fulfillment of prophecy, nor to prepare for any coming event; but nevertheless they have been actuated by a common impulse to rebuild their historic cities and possess once more a government of their own. And in this hope they are aided materially by some of the wealthiest men in the world.

The English Mission.

On the 8th of July, 1838, while the Saints were yet in Missouri, there had been given a revelation (section 118) to the Prophet which, in addition to calling Elders Taylor, Page, Woodruff, and Richards to the apostleship, requested the Twelve to depart next spring "over the great waters" to promulgate the gospel, taking "leave of my Saints in the city

Far West, on the 26th day of April next, on the building spot of my house, saith the Lord."

But by "April next" nearly all the Saints had been driven from Missouri, and the Prophet Joseph was languishing, with many of his brethren, in a dungeon. Some of the Twelve felt, therefore, that the untoward circumstances in which the people were thrown did away with the necessity of fulfilling this word of prophecy. But the majority said, "It is a revelation of God, and must be obeyed." The mob, however, kept informed, by apostates, of the "secrets" of the "Mormons," swore that if every other prediction of "old Joe Smith's" should be fulfilled, they would see that this one failed, for it had place and date specified. Nevertheless, Elders Young, Kimball, Orson Pratt, Taylor, Page, Woodruff, and George A. Smith, taking different roads, met with a few Saints at Far West, while the mob were quietly sleeping away the early morning hours. Thirty-one persons were excommunicated from the Church, the foundation of the Lord's house "was recommenced," Elders Woodruff and Smith were ordained to the apostleship, the apostles, in turn, offered up "vocal prayer," and after singing "Adam-ondi-Ahman," they took leave of the Saints, "according to the revelation!"

But they only left Far West on this occasion. There was too much going on beyond the Mississippi for them to depart immediately for Europe. As soon, however, as possible—nay, before less courageous and faithful men would have thought it possible—they were on their way to a foreign nation to preach the gospel.

On the first day of July, 1839, the First Presidency held a meeting at Brigham Young's house in Montrose, which was attended by nine of the apostles. Here the outgoing missionaries were blessed, as were also the wives of some of them. Joseph gave the brethren some words of advice,

which are worth quoting both for their inherent value and also for the light they throw upon his character. "Ever keep in exercise," he says, "the principle of mercy, and be ready to forgive on the first intimation of repentance and desire for forgiveness; then our Heavenly Father will be equally merciful unto us." After advising them to be humble so that they might be strong, he went on to say, "Act honestly before God and man; beware of sophistry, such as bowing and scraping unto men in whom you have no confidence. Be honest, open, and frank in all your itercourse with mankind." As a key to the Saints generally, as well as to these few missionaries,"in all their trials, troubles, temptations, afflictions, bonds, imprisonment, and death," he gave the following: "See to it that you do not betray Jesus Christ, that you do not betray the revelations of God, whether in the Bible, Book of Mormon, or Doctrine and Covenants, or any of the words of God, lest innocent blood be found upon your skirts, and you go down to hell!" And these noble words, let it be remembered by those who would interpret his great soul, were uttered in a private council of twelve men, and written down by one of them immediately afterwards, but not published till many years later.

Apostles Woodruff and Taylor were the first to leave Nauvoo for their mission. It was on the 8th of August, 1839, at the very time when the Saints were strenuously endeavoring to wrest from the marshes of Commerce sufficient health and vitality to build a home. Wilford was suffering with the augue, which attacked him every alternate day. Nevertheless, he bade farewell to his beloved wife and started on his way to Europe, "looking more like a subject for a dissecting room than a missionary." Elder Taylor was physically well, but agitated by reflections concerning the separation from his family. "The thought of the hardships they had just endured," he says, "the uncertainty of their continuing

in the house they then occupied, the prevalence of disease, the poverty of the brethren, their insecurity from mobs, together with the uncertainty of what might take place during my absence, produced feelings of no ordinary character.". On the skirts of the new settlement at Commerce, they came upon Parley P. Pratt, stripped of hat, coat and vest, shoes and stockings, hewing logs for a house. Having no money, he gave them a purse. Presently they drove up to Heber C. Kimball, who was at the same work, and in much the same dress—or rather undress—who gave them a dollar, to put into their purse. At Indianapolis, Elder Taylor was taken violently ill, and was compelled to remain at Germantown, Indiana, for two or three weeks; while Elder Woodruff, still suffering almost daily attacks from chills and fever, proceeded on his way. He reached New York November 8th.

A few days after the departure of these two brethren, Apostles Parley P. and Orson Pratt left Nauvoo, "journeying," says the former, "in our own private carriage,drawn by two horses!" At Philadelphia, they had the pleasure of seeing President Smith, who was then on his way to Washington to lay before the national authorities the Missouri troubles. At this city, Parley P. Pratt had many conversations with the Prophet, of which the marriage relation was the chief topic. "It was from him," the apostle says, speaking of this time, "that I learned that the wife of my bosom might be secured to me for time and eternity; and that the refined sympathies and affections which endeared us to each other emanated from the fountain of divine eternal love. It was from him that I learned that we might cultivate these affections, and grow and increase in the same to all eternity; while the result of our endless union would be an offspring as numerous as the stars of heaven, or the sands of the sea shore."

While they were here, meetings were held by the Prophet,

Sidney Rigdon, and Elder Pratt, at one of which Joseph spoke in such a powerful manner as to draw the following comment from Parley: When Sidney was through speaking, "Joseph arose like a lion about to roar; and being full of the Holy Ghost, spoke in great power, bearing testimony of the visions he had seen, the ministering of angels which he had enjoyed; and how he had found the plates of the Book of Mormon, and translated them by the gift and power of God." A profound impression was made by this sermon, on the large congregation. They were "astonished, electrified, as it were, and overwhelmed with a sense of the truth" which the inspired preached had uttered. A great many people were baptized in Philadelphia and vicinity, and branches established, chiefly through the labors of an elder named Winchester. This circumstance is worthy of note as indicating the force and earnestness of the Prophet's words and presence.

It was not till the middle of September that Apostles Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball began their journey. Both were weak and emaciated with sickness. The former had not strength enough to walk the few rods from his house to the ferry-boat, and when he reached Heber C.'s house, over the river, he lay there prostrate for several days. His wife and children were sick, like himself, and had little to keep them during the absence of their father and husband. Brother Kimball's family, also, were "down with the fever." His wife was prostrate on her bed, and the only well child was the junior Heber who could "with difficulty," carry a small bucket of water to quench the others' burning thirst. But these brethren bade farewell to their families in this condition and began their dismal journey towards New York. At Quincy they were compelled to stay for a few days on account of their physical condition. By the most

singular makeshifts they managed to reach Richmond, Indiana.

"When we arrived here," says Heber's journal, "we had means to take us to Dayton, to which place we proceeded and tarried over night, waiting for another line of stages. We expected to stop here and preach until we got means to pursue our journey. Brother Brigham went to his trunk to get money to pay the bill, and found we had sufficient to pay our passage to Columbus, to which place we took passage in the stage and tarried over night. When he paid the bill he found he had sufficient means to pay our passage to Worcester. We tarried till the afterpart of the day and then took passage to Worcester. When we arrived there, Brother Brigham went to his trunk again to get money to pay our bill, and found sufficient to pay our passages to Cleveland." Out of thirteen and a half dollars that they had when they left Pleasant Garden, beyond Richmond, they found on looking over their expenses, that they had paid out over eighty-seven dollars! "Brother Brigham," declares Heber, "often suspected that I put the money in his trunk or clothes; thinking that I had a purse of money which I had not acquainted him with. But this was not so; the money could only have been put in his trunk by some heavenly messenger, who thus administered to our necessities daily as he knew we needed."

Apostles George A. Smith, who, with Ruben Hedlock and Theodore Turley, left about the same time as Elders Young and Kimball, had an equally heroic struggle with disease. As the three brethren were journeying painfully along, their wagon upset, tipping them down the river bank. Elders Smith and Turley were actually too weak to rise, and had to be helped by their companion who was a trifle stronger. They pursued their way once again. A passer by, with cruel humor, asked the driver if he had been robbing a graveyard!

But he replied that they were only "Mormon" elders on their way to Europe to preach the gospel.

Arriving at New York, all of the Apostles remained there some time doing missionary work, before going over the sea. Elders Taylor, Woodruff, and Turley embarked on December 19th, 1839, the rest following three months later.

It will be remembered that in April, 1838, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, and Isaac Russell had saided from England after an eight months' mission there, leaving the work in charge of Joseph Fielding, Willard Richards, and William Clayton. What had these brethren been doing between this time and the arrival of the apostles in 1840? Elder Clayton had gone to Manchester and in course of a few months "raised up" there a large and flourishing branch; Elders Mulliner and Wright had opened up the work in Scotland; while the branches in and around Preston had received large additions. But some opposition had manifested itself. A sister—Alice Hodgin—had died at Preston; whereupon Elder Richards was arrested for "killing and slaying the said Alice with a black stick." When, however, during the trial, it appeared that his accusers' bad character would be laid bare, he was summarily dismissed.

On the 14th of April, 1840, a council of the apostles was held at Preston, at which Willard Richards, who had been called to the apostleship by revelation, was ordained a member of that quorum. Next day a conference was held at the same place. There were present eight of the twelve apostles—Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith, and Willard Richards. On this occasion, it was decided to publish a monthly periodical to be called *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star,* with Parley P. Pratt as editor. A committee, consisting of Elders Young, Parley P. Pratt, and Taylor, was appointed to make a selection of

hymns. Another committee, composed of Elders Young, Kimball, and Parley P. Pratt, was named to publish an edition of the Book of Mormon. The conference was in session three days.

And now the American missionaries separated. Elder Heber C. Kimball was appointed to visit the branches which he had been instrumental in establishing on his first mission here, Orson Pratt to labor in Scotland, John Taylor to continue at Liverpool; Parley P. Pratt to edit the *Star;* George A. Smith to the Potteries; Wliford Woodruff, Brigham Young, and Willard Richards to Herefordshire.

To follow these brethren into their respective fields of labor would require too much space in a general work on the history of the Church, though such a detailed study would prove exceptionally interesting no less than instructive. But we may indicate some of the results accomplished by them in their various conferences.

At Liverpool Elder Taylor did a good work. By the time the second group of elders arrived he had baptized about thirty persons, and this number soon increased to more than one hundred. He also preached the gospel in Ireland and the Isle of Man, where it had never been proclaimed before in this dispensation. Not many were brought into the fold at these latter places.

The London conference was organized during this time by Apostles Kimball, Woodruff, and Smith. It was a long time before they could get an opening, on account of the prejudice of sectarian preachers. Elder Kimball had come here from his labors with the Saints at Preston and vicinity, Elder Woodruff from his successful work in Herefordshire, and Elder Smith from his field at the Potteries. So they had each had experience that stood them well in hand. President Young also came here and labored for a week or ten days. But the ice was broken, as Heber declared, after having

preached to a large crowd in the streets one afternoon with great success. Then, too, a sufficient evidence that there were many souls that would embrace the truth in the great metropolis was given them in the experience which Apostle Woodfuff and later Elder Lorenzo Snow had with evil spirits —an experience very similar to that which Elders Kimball and Hyde went through when the work at Preston was first begun. Upon the departure of the apostles from London, Elder Snow was put in charge of the conference, and shortly afterwards he reported a membership of more than four hundred. So that "Mormonism" was pretty well established there.

The greatest success, however, had attended the labors of Elder Woodruff. He had gone to Herefordshire by direct command of the Lord, almost as soon as he had landed, which was in January, three months before the second group of missionaries arrived. There he found a society called the "United Brethren," a body of about six hundred persons, including forty-five preachers, that had broken away from one of the Methodist branches. They were waiting, they said, for the true Church, which they firmly believed would come to them. So great was the desire to hear the new preacher from America that the churches in the neighborhood were empty of a Sunday. One rector in the vicinity of Hill Farm sent to constable to arrest Elder Woodruff for preaching. But the officer was converted at the meeting, and, returning, told the minister that he would have to get some one else to serve the warrant. Then the rector sent two clerks of the parish, as spies, to attend the meetings held by the apostle. "But they were pricked in their hearts and received the word of the Lord gladly." As a last resort, the angry clergyman sent for advice to the Archbishop of Canterbury, for the "Mormons" had, he declared, turned fifteen hundred persons away from the Church of England. That ecclesiastical

dignitary, however, counseled the rector to pay more attention to the saving of souls and less to the ground where the foxes, hares, and hounds were wont to run. And Elder Woodruff, meantime, continued his good work of baptizing the people and organizing them into braches. During the eight months that he labored in this district, he baptized more than eighteen hundred persons, including all the six hundred United Brethren except one person. Among these converts were some two hundred preachers of various denominations. "The whole history of this Herefordshire mission," declares this man of the simple life, "shows the importance of listening to the still, small voice of the Spirit of God."

This was a great mission that these eight apostles performed. An edition of five thousand copies of the Book of Mormon had been published, an edition of three thousand hymn books, the *Millennial Star* had been established, fifty thousand tracts printed and distributed, a permanent emigration agency provided for, one thousand souls had gathered to Zion, and between seven and eight thousand persons brought into the Church!

On the 20th of April, 1841, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Pratt, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith, and Willard Richards embarked for home on the ship *Rochester,* leaving Elder Parley P. Pratt to edit the *Star,* and to preside over the British mission.

CHAPTER III

A LULL IN THE STORM

With the exception of attempts on the part of Missouri to entrap the Prophet, and a bit of archtreachery that occurred at Nauvoo, the years lying between 1839 and 1844 were a period of singular peace and prosperity for the body of the Church. They purchased land and built thereon some comfortable, even beautiful residences; they had a thriving city which was fast becoming famous; they enjoyed the good will, if not the confidence, of the leading men of the state; and an uninterrupted stream of immigration increased their population beyond their hitherto fondest dreams. Hence it is that we have here some important spiritual events to chronicle.

A Great Thought-Period.

If the doctrines of "Mormonism" were examined with a view to classifying them on the basis of their importance, it would be found that there is no principle, really fundamental in its character, but was revealed through the Prophet Joseph Smith. And of those basic truths it is doubtful whether a single one could be pointed out that was not either first made known during this Nauvoo period of our history or developed at this time from hints previously given. Accordingly, any one who studies carefully this stage of the Restoration will be struck with the fact that it is pre-eminently a thought-period, rather than one of outward activity.

Nor need we be at all surprised at this. Joseph stands at the head of this dispensation, as Adam stands in the fore-front of the human race. And he was singularly spiritual in his nature, statements to the contrary by his enemies not-

withstanding. Not, of course, in the sense that Swenborg or even Emerson was, whose ideas were too subtle and speculative to be of great use to the multitude; but spiritual in the sense that he could grasp the fundamentals of the theological-science. And that these larger truths should either come to him or be made clearer and more practical during this period of his life, is not astonishing considering the external fortunes of the Church in this and in the preceding epochs.

In 1820 was given the great vision of the Father and the Son from which some very obvious inferences might have been drawn concerning the personality of God and the nature of the Godhead. But on account of Joseph's lack of acquaintance with the false dogmas of the world, it is doubtful whether these facts were greatly impressed on his mind at the time. At all events, they do not appear to have taken definite shape as doctrines till long afterwards. Moroni's numerous appearings from 1823 to 1829 put him in possession of some important facts respecting angels and their relation to man. Then, the appearing of Moses, Elias, and Elijah to him in the Kirtland temple gave him an insight into the purposes of God with respect to the race as a whole. And so on, till we reach the limit of his revelations up to the period we are now considering. These were all more or less germs out of which were to grow some important developments; but in this Nauvoo period we see "Mormonism" almost suddenly rise up into a sublime system of practical philosophy, if we may use the expression. Attention to the facts in the case will show that we have not overstated the point.

The Working Hypothesis.

Beyond all cavil, the central idea of "Mormonism"—its working hypothesis—is the doctrine that man is an eternal being, as to his essence, capable of eternal progression. A

grand and luminous thought this, throwing into its proper relative position every truth that God has, at various times and in different ways, made known to his erring creatures. "The intelligence of spirits is immortal; it had no beginning, neither will it have an end;" is the doctrine of the great Prophet. "There never was a time when there were not spirits, [intelligences] for they are co-eternal with our Father in heaven." And at another time, he declared, "God himself was once as we are now, and is an exalted man." How soul-withering, by comparison, are the dogmas of false teachers respecting man and his destiny, which makes him a mean, miserable sinner! Sinner, he doubtless is, but not mean and miserable, unless he choose to make himself so. As Darwin, the great scientist, spent the best part of his manhood in collecting and arranging data about plants and animals, which obstinately refused to be classified and explained by systems then approved, but which fell at once into harmony and order when the single luminous idea of "natural selection" was brought to bear upon them; so, in like manner, man had for centuries been gathering facts concerning himself, his origin, his destiny, and his present state, which seemed to have no common bearing, no exact relation to one another, till the modern Seer cast upon them the light of the new thought of "eternal progression," when each took its place in one grand, united whole. And as the Philosopher remembered with ecstasy the precise time and place that he received the key-thought of biological science, so mankind will one day call to mind with delight the Prophet, and revere his name, who first gave them the idea which throws into their lives a new impulse towards truth.

Round this central idea cluster in beautiful harmony all the great truths of "Mormonism." The object of man's existence is that he might become like the Creator, the Father of his spirit. To attain this end, he was given a tabernacle

of flesh, the material was joined with the spiritual in the "fall" of man; for without this union, says a revelation, perfection is impossible. The experience he gains in mortality is necessary to his exaltation, and it is a fatal mistake to avoid this means of growth. His home is here on the earth, which will be purified and made like a urim and thummim, not up somewhere in the region of the clouds singing anthems forever and fingering harps. Perfection will come only through obedience to law, whether divine or so-called "natural." Some of these are contained in the Bible, which is to be interpreted by the simplest of all rules: "Just no interpretation at all; understand it exactly as it reads." Man must have faith in God, in Christ, and in the laws which are given for his salvation; he must repent of his sins, which includes a sinning no more; he must have those sins washed away in the waters of baptism by immersion; then he must receive the Holy Ghost by the imposition of hands by those holding divine commission. He must not lie, steal, commit adultery or murder; or, in short, do anything contrary to the law of conscience and of God. Marriage is obligatory, and the rearing of children; for the greater his posterity, other things being equal, the greater his glory and power; for which reason plurality of wives is a higher law than monogamy. If, as may happen, man does not hear the gospel while he is in the flesh, he will have the privilege of hearing it in the spirit world, the ordinances being performed for him vicariously by men on the earth. Christ died for the sins of mankind, and is the mediator between God and man; and only through his name can individuals be saved. The resurrection from the dead will reunite the spirit and the body, which were separated in death; after which "the meek shall inherit the earth," cleansed from sin. And the righteous will go on progressing in knowledge and power and glory throughout all the ages of eternity.

Most of these great truths were revealed to the Prophet at this time; but all of them during the fourteen years he was permitted to lead the Church. What a time of joy, therefore, must the Saints at Nauvoo have had as they sat at the feet of this great man as, under the light of heavenly inspiration, he unfolded principle after principle of eternal life.

"The Hearts of the Fathers."

During the last years of the Prophet, it seems, the chief thought in his mind was salvation for the dead. He endeavored to impress upon the minds of the Saints the necessity of being baptized for those who, unbaptized, had gone behind the veil, for only thus could they be "saviors on Mount Zion." In connection with this subject was the matter of performing some of the sacred ordinances pertaining to the living.

In order the better to carry out the purposes of the Lord in relation to these holy rites and ceremonies, the people were commanded to build a temple at Nauvoo. "There is not a place found on earth," declared this revelation (section 124) "that He may come and restore that which was lost, even the fulness of the priesthood; for a baptismal font there is not upon the earth, that my Saints may be baptized for those who are dead. This ordinance belongeth to my house, and cannot be acceptable to me, only in the days of your poverty."

Immediately, therefore, they began the erection of a magnificent structure. The sight was one of the noblest for a public building that could be found anywhere, on the elevated part of the city overlooking the country to the west. A building committee was appointed, plans were drawn, and excavations made; so that by April 6th, 1841, at the time of the eleventh general conference of the Church, the corner stones were laid with imposing ceremonies. The southeast

corner stone was laid by the First Presidency; the southwest stone, by the President of the High Priesthood; the northwest, by the High Council; and the northeast, by the Bishops. From this time on the building progressed rapidly, considering the condition of the people at the time, till by October 6th, 1843, a conference was held in it, though of course, it was far from being completed. It was not finished till after the Prophet's death.

The temple was one hundred and twenty-eight feet long, eighty-eight feet wide, and sixty-five feet to the square. From the ground to the top of the spire was one hundred and sixty-five feet. The material was light gray limestone, nearly as hard as marble, though there was much wood in the building. There were thirty hewn pilasters—nine on each side and six on each end—the capitals of which, at a height of fifty feet, were suns with human faces in bold relief two and a half feet broad, ornamented with rays of light-waves, and surmounted by hands with trumpets. There were two stories in the clear. On the west front of the building was inscribed in gold the words: "The House of the Lord; built by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Holiness to the Lord." The total cost was more than one million dollars.

CHAPTER IV

MALEVOLENT ECHOES

One would naturally suppose that the Missourians, having once rid themselves of the obnoxious "Mormons," would rest in supine contentment at the prospect offered by their long-sought relief. But such were not the quiescent ways of those who had accomplished that expulsion. Accordingly, the Saints had no sooner entered upon their Illinois pilgrimage than they became aware that the rancorous feelings of their inveterate foe were neither dead nor sleeping.

Kidnappers at Work.

The first indication of this lingering malevolence was the kidnapping of four "Mormons," a few miles above Quincy, by a band of Missourians living at Tully, in Lewis county. No warrant was served, no offense charged against them; they were simply taken by main force while they were engaged in their daily work. For a day or two they were kept prisoners in an old log cabin, under constant threatenings. And when they were brought out, it was not to be set on trial according to law nor to be let go; but, instead, one was hanged on a tree by the neck till he was nearly strangled, another was cruelly beaten till he was half dead, and the other two were stripped of their clothing, lashed to a tree, and left there most of the night. Then they were dismissed with this characteristically Missourian note: "The people of Tully, having taken Mr. Allred, with some others, and having examined into the offenses committed, find nothing to justify his detention any longer, and have released him." This was signed by W. H. Woodward, who acted "by order of the committee."

This outrage, when the news of it reached Nauvoo, created great indignation. A meeting was held and resolutions passed, in which non-"Mormons" also took an active part. George Miller and Daniel H. Wells, the latter a Gentile, waited on Governor Carlin at Quincy and related to him the case of the brethren. His Excellency appeared to be deeply moved, and his wife wept, at the recital. But nothing ever came of this meeting with the executive, except promises and tears; for his "enthusiasm" for the "Mormon" cause had already waxed cold.

"Fugitives."

In two months more came another evidence of Missouri's disposition towards the Saints, in the shape of a requisition from Governor Boggs of that state on the Governor of Illinois for the persons of Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Lyman Wight, Parley P. Pratt, Caleb Baldwin, and Alanson Brown, as "fugitives from justice." And the requisition, moreover, was readily granted by Governor Carlin. But when the sheriff came to Nauvoo to serve the warrant, the "fugitives" could nowhere be found. The writ was therefore returned and became "dead." This last fact is important, as we shall presently see, for "thereby hangs a tale."

Nothing further was heard of this matter till June, 1841, when the Prophet was returning from Quincy, whither he had been to accompany Hyrum Smith and William Law on a mission to which they had been called by revelation. At Heberlin's hotel, about twenty-eight miles from Nauvoo, he was overtaken by a posse, under the sheriff of Adams county, and a Missouri officer, and arrested on the same charge that had been preferred against him on the previous September, and, in fact, on the same requisition that had been made out at that time for himself and five other brethren. Joseph was the more astonished since, while visiting Governor Carlin at

Quincy only a few hours before, he had not received the slightest hint of this process. The party with the Prophet returned to Quincy, where the prisoner obtained a writ of *habeas corpus* from the master in chancery, Charles A. Warren. Judge Stephen A. Douglas appointed the hearing for Tuesday, the 8th of June, at Monmouth, in Warren county. Joseph was taken to Nauvoo by sheriff King.

The trial took place on the Wednesday following. The blind and ignorant zeal of Joseph's enemies employed, at their own expense, a number of the best attorneys they could engage, and threatened to withdraw their favor from any lawyers who would dare to defend the accused. Nevertheless, Joseph secured the services of Charles A. Warren, Sidney H. Little, O. H. Browning, James H. Ralston, Cyrus Walker, and Archibald Williams, who rose above the petty meanness of the rabble. The result of the trial was that the Prophet was acquitted on the ground that the warrant on which he was arrested, having been returned, was dead. Judge Douglass would not go beyond this legal technicality into the merits of the case.

Some incidents in this arrest and trial should not pass unnoticed. While the sheriff was on his way from Quincy to Nauvoo with his prisoner, he was taken very sick, but was nursed carefully by the Prophet till he recovered. At Monmouth, Joseph was invited to speak at the court house, but declined, appointing Amasa Lyman to preach in his place, which Elder Lyman did. During the trial, the Judge ordered the sheriff then in charge to keep back the crowd, but he neglected to do so and was fined ten dollars. Ordered again, shortly afterwards to send back the spectators, he said that he had instructed the constable to do so, whereupon Judge Douglas said: "Clerk, add ten dollars to that fine" The sheriff gave no further trouble after this. The attorneys on the opposition, except two, treated the accused with great

fairness, and Joseph's lawyers pleaded well his case. Browning's address is especially remembered. He had seen, he said, "the blood-stained traces of innocent women and children, in the dreary winter, who had traveled hundreds of miles barefoot, through frost and snow, to seek a refuge from their savage pursuers;" and he dwelt upon the shame of sacrificing the Prophet to the "fury" of those who dwelt in the "savage land" of Missouri, "where none dared to enlist in the cause of justice." "If there was no other voice under heaven," he cried, "ever to be heard in this cause, gladly would I stand alone, and proudly spend my latest breath in defense of an American citizen."

The "Mormon" Benedict Arnold.

At this point in our narrative it becomes necessary to relate a circumstance or two that concern a character of whom we have hitherto said little—the notorious Dr. John C. Bennett.

The first notice which the Saints had of the existence of this man was an offer he made them to join with "their forces" his own "invincible dragoons," of whom he was brigadier-general, and then to march upon the "cowardly persecutors of this innocent people." The offer, of course, was rejected. Later, when the "Mormons" began settling upon lands in and about Commerce, he manifested a desire to embrace their fortunes. In a letter which he wrote the Prophet at this time, he stated that it would not be necessary to resign his military office and that he would continue to practice his profession of medicine among his new friends; so that the Saints "should have all the benefits of his speaking power, and his untiring energies in behalf of the good and holy faith." And the Prophet had written back that no doubt the doctor would be of great service to the "Mormons," and that, though he devoted his time and abilities to a suffering people, he would insure himself of "that bless-

ing which maketh rich and addeth no sorrow." "My general invitation is," continued Joseph's unenthusiastic letter, "let all who will come, come and partake of the poverty of Nauvoo freely." Bennett came and was baptized.

Though the Prophet had undoubtedly entertained suspicions regarding the new convert's sincerity in joining the Church under such conditions, the doctor's energy, earnestness, and general helpfulness largely overcame these. Bennett was looked upon as "a man of enterprise, extensive acquirements, and of independent mind, one calculated to be of great benefit to the Church." So he was made the first mayor of Nauvoo, the charter of whose new government he had been largely influential in obtaining. And he had been given other positions as well, civil and military. In fact, so useful did he make himself that there could be no lingering doubt of his sincerity. Joseph said of him about this time, "He is almost the only man I have around me who can do what I want and in the right way."

But such was not the real John C. Bennett. He was all the while acting a part. And his true character soon appeared.

May 7th, 1842, was a gala day at Nauvoo. The Legion —two thousand troops—was to have a parade and a sham battle. At three o'clock, General Law's command of cavalry was to make a descent upon that of Rich's infantry. A great throng of spectators were there, including Judge Douglas and other prominent men of the state. When three o'clock arrived General Joseph Smith and his body guard were stationed off by themselves, when Major-General Bennett rode up and asked the Prophet if he would not himself lead the charge of the first cohort. But he refused. Would he not then stand in the rear of the cavalry without his staff But A. P. Rockwood, the commander of the guard, would not hear of it. And Bennett rode off.

"If General Bennett's true feelings towards me are not manifest to the world in a very short time," remarked the Prophet not long after this, "then it may be possible that the gentle breathings of that Spirit which whispered to me on the parade that there was mischief in that sham battle, were false; a short time will determine the point. Let John C. Bennett answer at the day of judgment. Why did you request me to command one of the cohorts, and also to take my position without my staff, during the sham battle on the seventh of May, 1842, where my life might have been forfeited and no man have known who did the deed "

And a short time did determine the point; for that very month had not ended before Dr. Bennett was overwhelmed by the deep disgrace of his misdeeds. It was learned that he was immoral, that he was plotting against the leading men of the Church, and that he had a bad record prior to his connection with "Mormonism." He resigned his office as major and Joseph was elected in his place. His engagement to a young woman—the daughter of a respectable "Mormon" in the city—was broken off when it was learned that he was already a husband and father; his family was then living in McConnellsville, Ohio. It transpired shortly that he had been "leading silly women captive" at Nauvoo, not one but several, having persuaded them that promiscuous intercourse of the sexes was taught privately by the Prophet. In this same guilt Francis M. and Chauncy L. Higbee were also involved. When these things came to light, Bennett attempted suicide, but was rescued from death in spite of himself. He was about to be excommunicated from the Church but action was postponed because he begged so piteously that his mother might be spared the shock of his disgrace.

"Doctor," said Joseph to him one day, in the presence of Squire Wells, "I can sustain you no longer. Hyrum is against you, the Twelve are against you, and if I do not come

out against sin and iniquity, I shall myself be trodden under foot as a Prophet of God." This was fatal to Bennett's influence, and also to his ambitions to be a legislative representative from Hancock county, which office he was then aspiring to.

In the city council he declared that Joseph had not "either in public or private" given him any "authority or license" to "hold illicit intercourse with women."

"Will you state definitely," asked Joseph, "whether you know anything against my character, either in public or private."

"I do not," was his answer. "In all my intercourse with General Smith, in public and in private, he has been strictly virtuous."

This same statement he made subsequently in an affidavit before Justice Wells. Meantime, he professed great repentance, hoping that "the time would soon come when he might be restored to full confidence and fellowship" in the Church. "Should the time ever come," he said, "that I may have the opportunity to test my faith, it will then be known whether I am a traitor or a true man."

That time came, and proved him traitor to the bone. For he precipitately left Nauvoo shortly after this, joined hands with the old anti-"Mormon" foe across the river, and repeated the worst things he had ever been wicked enough to say against the Prophet. He was confronted with his affidavit; whereupon he put forth the characteristic, theatrical plea that he had made it under duress! Thereupon his entire conduct, so far as concerned the Saints, was exposed in the Nauvoo papers. Those who had been led astray by his wiles were tried and given the alternative of repentance or excommunication.

That such was Bennett's true charcter is evident from everything that is known of him. Governor Ford, in his

History of Illinois (page 263), declares: "This Bennett was probably the greatest scamp in the western country. I have made particular inquiries concerning him, and have traced him in several places in which he had lived before he had joined the Mormons, in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, and he was everywhere accounted the same debauched, unprincipled, and profligate character." Dr. Alexander Wilder, in his *History of Medicine* (page 486), reveals another phase of Bennett's villainy. "About this time," he says, speaking of the rise, in 1832, and thereabouts, of certain reform papers in this country, "there occurred an episode, perhaps the first of the kind ever coming to light in the United States. A charter for the'University of Indiana' and the 'Christian College,' at New Albany, had been conferred by the legislature in 1833. The mover in the matter, and the titular president, and chancellor of the institution, was one John Cook Bennett, afterward attaining notoriety from his relations with Joseph Smith, the Mormon Apostle, in Nauvoo. *The institution did not go into operation, but its degrees were distributed wherever individuals could be induced to accept and pay for them.* Bennett visited Worthington and attempted to vend his commodities among the students. He boasted that he had conferred them on the professors, naming Dr. Morrow, but this was shown to be a slander." Whether Bennett's own degree had been conferred in this manner, we are not informed. And yet anti-"Mormon" writers continue to quote this man's statements as authority for "Mormon" wickedness in Nauvoo!

The Inevitable Boggs.

Following this, occurred one of the most high-handed proceedings that ever occurred between the governors of two states. It came about in this manner:

Lilburn W. Boggs, who was an ex-governor by this

time, on the evening of May 6th, 1842, was shot by an unknown hand, as he sat in his room. So serious were the wounds made by the assassin that for a time Boggs's life was despaired of, but in time he rallied and recovered. It had, however, been rumored that he was dead.

More than two months went by, and nothing further was said of the occurrence, when suddenly the ex-governor went before Justice Samuel Weston, of whom we have heard before, and made out an affidavit charging Joseph Smith, "a resident of Illinois," with being accessory before the fact to an assault upon his person with intent to kill. This was on the 15th of July. On the strength of this affidavit, Governor Reynolds, of Missouri, made out a requisition on the Governor of Illinois for the person of Joseph Smith, "a fugitive from justice," charged with "being accessory before the fact, to an assault with intent to kill, made by one O. P. Rockwell, on Lilburn W. Boggs." The requisition was granted, and the accused were arrested at Nauvoo by the sheriff of Adams county. The Prophet and Rockwell, however, obtained a writ of *habeas corpus,* first of the municipal courts at Nauvoo, which the sheriff refused to honor, and then of the master in chancery. The prisoners, meanwhile had been left in charge of the Marshal, but without the original writ; so they were turned loose.

But events were taking such a turn as to suggest that the two brethren go into hiding. Accordingly, Rockwell went to the east, and Joseph went from house to house among his friends. First, he stayed with his uncle John at Zarahemla, but hearing that the Governor of Iowa had issued, upon a requisition from Missouri, a warrant for his arrest, he went to the home of a Brother Edward Sayers, at Nauvoo. Not long afterwards, however, he returned to his own house, conceiving that his enemies would not expect him to take such a risk. One day, however, a posse came to the

house to arrest him, but were delayed in the hall by some trifling questions by Emma Smith till Joseph had time to escape through the back door into some tall corn, and thence to Bishop Whitney's residence. His next home was at Edward Hunter's, from which he directed affairs at Nauvoo, and wrote a valuable epistle to the Church on baptism for the dead. Later, however, he decided that he would be as safe at his own home, to which he repaired, though he remained there only a short time. He would have taken his family into a distant part, but for the fact that the enmity of those who sought his life was as great against the whole community. Part of the time he was thus concealed, it is pleasant to note, was devoted to cutting and hauling wood for the poor at Nauvoo.

Meanwhile, petitions were sent to the Governor in which he was invoked to turn aside these illegal proceedings. One was written by Emma Smith and another by the Relief Society. But the chief executive answered by setting a price on the heads of the Prophet and Rockwell,—almost his last official act as governor, for he went out of office shortly afterwards. The Governor of Missouri also offered a reward for the brethren. For a time, the Prophet's friends entertained hopes that the new incumbent of the gubernatorial chair—Thomas Ford, of whom, also, we shall hear enough presently—would rescind the unjust actions of his predecessor; but he refused to undertake "doubtful powers," although he admitted in a letter to Joseph that Missouri's requisition was illegal. At the same time Justice Butterfield was asked for his opinion on the whole conduct of the frontier state. He declared that it was entirely unlawful, and so persuaded Governor Ford. All this his excellency would do was to advise the Prophet to submit to a trial at Springfield, pledging him protection to and from the place and while he was there. And Joseph consented to be tried.

Accordingly, he was arrested by Wilson Law, at Nauvoo, on Carlin's proclamation. At Carthage an order for a writ of *habeas corpus* was obtained which was made out at Springfield a few minutes before the court convened, to which place the Prophet and a number of his friends had gone. Joseph was placed under bonds for four thousand dollars, and requested to appear at the session of the court which was to be held a few days hence. The attorney for the state attempted to have Joseph turned over to the Missouri authorities, on the ground that the court did not have jurisdiction to try the case. But Judge Pope decided differently, and the case went on.

The tactics of the Prophet's enemies are sufficiently revealed in the opinion of Judge Pope, who presided at the trial. "It is proposed," he says, "to deprive a freeman of his liberty; to deliver him into the custody of strangers; to be transported to a foreign state; to be arraigned for trial before a foreign tribunal, governed by laws unknown to him; separated from his friends, family, and his witnesses, unknown and unknowing. Had he an immaculate character, it would not avail him with strangers. Such a spectacle is appalling enough to challenge the strictest analysis. . . . Boggs was shot on the 6th of May. The affidavit was made on the 25th of July following. Here was time for inquiry, which would confirm into certainty, or dissipate his suspicions. He had time to collect facts to be had before a grand jury, or be incorporated in his affidavit. The court is bound to assume that this would have been the course of Mr. Boggs, but his suspicions were light and unsatisfactory. The affidavit is insufficient. First, because it is not positive; second, because it charges no crime; third because it charges no crime committed in the state of Missouri. Therefore he did not flee from the justice of the state of Missouri, nor has he taken refuge in the state of Illinois."

Concerning Governor Reynolds's part in this affair, he says: "The governor of Missouri, in his demand, calls Smith a fugitive from justice, 'charged with being accessory before the fact to an assault, with intent to kill, made by one O. P. Rockwell, on Lilburn W. Boggs, in this state (Missouri). This governor expressly refers to the affidavit as his authority for that statement. Boggs, in his affidavit, does not call Smith a fugitive from justice, nor does he state a fact from which the governor had a right to infer it. Neither does the name of O. P. Rockwell appear in the affidavit, nor does Boggs say Smith fled. Yet the governor says he has fled to the state of Illinois.

Nor does the complicity of ex-Governor Carlin escape. "The governor of Illinois," continues the Judge, "responding to the demand of the Executive of Missouri for the arrest of Smith, issues his warrant for the arrest of Smith, reciting that 'whereas Joseph Smith stands charged by the affidavit of Lilburn W. Boggs with being accessory before the fact to an assault, with intent to kill, made by one O. P. Rockwell, on Lilburn W. Boggs, on the night of the 6th day of May, 1842, at the county of Jackson, in said state of Missouri; and that the said Joseph Smith has fled from the justice of said state and taken refuge in the state of Illinois.' Those facts do not appear by the affidavit of Boggs." So the Prophet was discharged.

Some incidents connected with this Springfield trial also deserve attention. The presence of the famous "Mormon" Prophet in this place occasioned considerable excitement. The same prejudice was manifested here that showed itself at Monmouth. But the Prophet met a number of the most prominent men of Illinois; for the legislature was in session. He and the Governor had several conversations. "I had reason to think," said his excellency afterwards, "that the Mormons were a peculiar people, different from other people,

having horns or something of the kind; but I found that they looked like other people; indeed, I think Mr. Smith a very good-looking man." An invitation was extended Joseph to preach in the court house; but he declined, on account of his being under arrest; and Apostles Hyde and Taylor preached to a crowded house, whose attention was divided between the words of the preachers and the person of the Prophet.

On January 10th, 1843, Joseph and his brethren reached Nauvoo, amid great rejoicings. The Twelve issued a proclamation appointing the seventeenth as "a day of humiliation, fasting, praise, prayer, and thanksgiving before the Great Eloheim." And the Prophet, on the eleventh, the day after his arrival from Springfield, gave a party and banquet to the Twelve and other leading citizens of Nauvoo.

On the evening of these festivities at Joseph's home, an incident occurred which threatened to bring things to an unhappy crisis. A rough-looking man with long, straggling hair, came sauntering into the banquet room like one in the first stages of intoxication. The Prophet, casting a suspicious eye on the stranger, quietly notified a policeman present to put the fellow out. But the new-comer, suddenly throwing away all signs of drink, grappled this functionary of the law. All eyes were, therefore, turned on the wrestlers. In the midst of the scuffle, Joseph suddenly caught sight of the stranger's face, which had hitherto been mostly concealed by a slouch hat drawn down on his head, and beheld his old friend and fellow-prisoner, Orrin Porter Rockwell! The "long-haired stranger" was, of course, made a welcome guest, whereupon he recounted the many thrilling events of his wanderings since he had last seen them.

He had been away many months. First, he went to the Eastern States. But he tired of this strange country—for he was born for rough work in the pioneer's land,—and found his way back to St. Louis, where a Missourian recognized

him as the man advertised for in the papers. He was arrested, and imprisoned for eight months; but even a Missouri grand jury could find nothing against him, and so he was not detained on that account. While waiting, however, for this decision he had broken jail, for which he was sentenced to five minutes' imprisonment, which, in strict accord with Missouri arithmetic, prolonged itself into a few hours.

Once, during his incarceration, he was approached confidentially by Sheriff Reynolds with a proposition by which Rockwell might profit greatly. He was to be released, go to the outskirts of Nauvoo, there meet the Prophet by appointment, and detain him until his "friends" from Missouri could come along. "Rockwell," whispered the officer, "only deliever Joe Smith into our hands, and you can name your pile."

"I'll see you damned first," answered the redoubtable Porter, "and then I won't."

Some time during this same evening Sidney Rigdon handed Orson Pratt a letter which he had received, addressed to both himself and Pratt, from John C. Bennett. "I leave tonight for Missouri," said this Benedict Arnold, "to meet a messenger charged with the arrest of Joseph Smith, Lyman Wight, and others." "The war goes bravely on," he continued; "and although Smith thinks he is now safe, the evening is near, even at the door." This letter Elder Pratt promptly turned over to the Prophet, thus relieving himself of the odium of secret correspondence with that arch-traitor Bennett, which Rigdon, whose well of faith was now fast drying up, has never been altogether cleared of.

An Evil Sextette.

In June, 1843, the Prophet and his family went to visit Emma's sister, living near Dixon, in Lee county, more than two hundred miles north of Nauvoo. One morning he was

walking on the path leading from the house to the barn, when two men suddenly pounced upon him, like tigers from the jungle, and with profanity of the most shocking character, took hold of him violently, at the same time cocking their revolvers and threatening to shoot him on the spot. Joseph asked what the meaning of all this was, to which they only answered with another volley of oaths and additional threats on his life, dragging him meantime to their wagon in front of the house. No warrant had been served upon him thus far, but he was hustled into the wagon and driven off towards Dixon.

These two men were sheriffs, Reynolds of Missouri and Wilson of Illinois. They carried in their pockets a warrant which Governor Ford had issued on a requisition from the Governor of Missouri. These two governors, it seems, had been under the sinister influence of John C. Bennett and a man named Owens, from Missouri, where he had once led a Jackson county mob against the Saints. Bennett managed Governor Reynolds; and Owens, Governor Ford. And these two sheriffs had been chosen beforehand by these two evil counselors, because of their great animus towards the "Mormons" in general and Joseph Smith in particular.

The Prophet, however, had not been left in the dark as to the new movements against him. We have seen that a letter from Bennett to Rigdon and Pratt warned him of this apostate's progress in his designs. Then, too, as soon as the warrant was out, Judge Adams, a friendly attorney at Springfield, despatched a quick messenger to Nauvoo to notify the Prophet of his danger. But Joseph not being there, his brother Hyrum sent Stephen Markham and William Clayton to Dixon with the news. A lawyer at Dixon, also, just after this, sent word to Joseph that a warrant had been issued for his arrest. Somehow, Reynolds and Wilson got wind of the Prophet's whereabouts, and had come direct

to Dixon and found him. It is asserted that they disguised themselves as "Mormon" elders. If so, they probably thus won the confidence of some good "Mormon," and obtained information concerning Joseph. But as they did not serve any warrant upon him, he likely imagined them kidnappers. While they were putting him into the wagon, Markham came up, and held the horses till Emma could reach it with Joseph's coat and hat.

At this time, and also as they drove to Dixon, the sheriffs cursed and swore and threatened to shoot the Prophet, poking their pistols into his sides till his flesh there was greatly bruised. Once he had opened his shirt bosom to them and said: "Kill me if you will, I am not afraid to die; I have endured so much oppression that I am weary of life. But I am strong, and could cast both of you down if I would."

Arriving at Dixon, he was thrust into a room, and every person who proffered to aid him was refused admittance. Finally, however, the proprietor of the hotel and another friend of justice gave these officers to understand that, whatever violation of the law was permitted in Missouri, the prisoners must be given fair treatment in Illinois. So Joseph obtained a writ of *habeas corpus* returnable before Judge Caton, at Ottawa. But writs were also sworn out against Reynolds and Wilson, and they were accordingly placed under arrest. The whole company thus went towards Ottawa for trial.

At Pawpaw Grove, thirty-two miles on their way, they learned that Judge Caton was out of the state, hence they would have to return to Dixon for new writs returnable elsewhere. But before leaving, a large crowd, hearing that the "Mormon" Prophet was in town, gathered at the hotel. They wanted to hear him preach, suggesting the subject of marriage. Reynolds, however, objected to this.

"I wish you to understand," he said, "that this man is my prisoner. You must all disperse."

Whereupon an old gentleman, named Town, who carried a heavy cane to help his lameness, spoke up: "You damned infernal puke, we'll learn you to come here and interrupt gentlemen! Sit down there (pointing to a very low chair), and sit still. Don't open your head till General Smith gets through talking. If you never learned manners in Missouri, we'll teach you that gentlemen are not to be imposed upon by a nigger-driver. You cannot kidnap men here. There's a committee in this grove that will sit on your case; and, sir, it is the highest tribunal in the United States, as from its decision there is no appeal."

Joseph spoke for an hour and a half on the subject chosen, and the company returned to Dixon. Arriving there, they obtained new warrants, "returnable before the nearest court in the fifth judicial district, authorized to hear and determine writs of *habeas corpus.*" As that was thought to be Judge Douglas's at Quincy, they went towards that place; but on the way Joseph convinced his attorney, Cyrus Walker, that the courts of Nauvoo had the necessary authority, and so they decided to go to that city.

In the meantime, Joseph had despatched William Clayton to Nauvoo with news of what had happened to him. It was Sunday when he reached the city, and meeting was in session. Hyrum announced, in the midst of the meeting, that he would like to see all the brethren immediately. The meeting, of course, broke up, and the men flocked to the green, where a hollow square was formed around Hyrum, who related to them what had occurred, and called for volunteers to go to the rescue. The result was that in a few hours, one hundred and seventy-five men were in the saddle on their way over the country towards Dixon, and about seventy-five more took passage up the river on the *Maid of*

Iowa, with instructions to do all in their power to render aid to Joseph.

As the Prophet and his party approached Monmouth, the brethren sent out from Nauvoo began to fall in by small squads, for they had divided in order the better to accomplish their purpose. The sheriffs who had Joseph in charge, when they learned that they were on their way to Nauvoo, were alarmed for their safety. But Joseph assured them that they should receive no harm. Now, however, as the Prophet's friends kept dropping in, they needed reassuring.

"Is Jem Flack anywhere around" inquired Reynolds, with no little concern. He was told that he was.

"Then I'm a dead man!" was his answer, as his face assumed the death hue. But when Jem came up, the Prophet requested him to postpone his revenge upon the Missourian till another time, which he did.

Reynolds's fears that Markham would do him violence appeared to be equally great, for he asked, when Stephen offered to shake hands with him—

"Do you meet me as a friend? I expected to be a dead man when I met you again."

"We are friends, except in law," was Markham's reply; "that must have its course."

What a triumph was that entrance into the city! Men, women, and children came to meet their beloved Prophet, with music and shouts of joy for his safe return. "Old Charley," Joseph's favorite horse, was brought out, and the Prophet mounted him and rode into town, Emma by his side. Upon reaching his home, Joseph spoke a few words to the multitude, promising to address them at four o'clock, near the temple. And they dispersed. About fifty persons sat down at the Prophet's table that afternoon, including the two sheriffs who had so shamefully abused him. They were placed at the head of the table, and waited upon by Emma

herself! In the afternoon, Joseph addressed the Saints, as promised.

The trial of the Prophet occurred in due time at a court presided over by William Marks, D. H. Wells, N. K. Whitney, G. W. Harris, Gustavus Hills, and Hiram Kimball, as justice and associates. Hyrum Smith, Parley P. Pratt, Brigham Young, G. W. Pitkin, Lyman Wight, and Sidney Rigdon were examined as witnesses; for this court had less scruples than those at Monmouth and Springfield about entering into the merits of the case. The Prophet was acquitted. Copies of all the documents pertaining to the trial were forwarded to Governor Ford, so that he might be informed as to what had been done. These documents, which may be found in the appendix to Vol. III., of the *History of the Church,* constitute the most authoritative and detailed original source of information concerning the whole series of difficulties between the Saints and their neighbors there. They are all, of course, from the "Mormon" point of view.

Thus every effort on the part of Missouri to get the Prophet into her power was thwarted, and Joseph was a free man.

CHAPTER V

THE SEED OF THE CHURCH

And now we come to the last scenes in the remarkable career of the Prophet Joseph—those which terminated in his martyrdom. Like so many other untoward events in the history of "Mormonism," that dark tragedy at Carthage was brought about by a combination of elements without and within the Church.

Political Snares.

The "Mormons," in the Missouri and Illinois periods, held a unique but altogether unenviable situation politically. In the latter state, particularly, they held the balance of power. Moreover, since there was usually some opposition from without making head against them, secretly or openly, they were compelled to vote pretty much together. Hence, after election, the defeated party, of course, would blame the "Mormons," and that without respect to whether it was the Whigs or the Democrats.

The charge was made then, and has been made since, that Joseph Smith ordered the votes of his people. But this is altogether without foundation or warrant in fact. The Prophet himself always disclaimed having anything to do with telling the Saints how to vote, and called them to witness, in their public assemblies, that they were perfectly free to cast their ballots, a thing he would not have done if he exercised any tyrannical influence in political elections. The solidarity of the "Mormon" vote in Illinois is to be explained in a simpler way than by the hypothesis that the Prophet dictated their votes and that the people servilely obeyed him in the matter. Outside pressure compelled them

to act together for self-protection. If Methodists, or Baptists, or Presbyterians, argued the Prophet, were told by one political party that their civil rights would be taken from them if its nominees were placed in power, and by the other party that their rights should be protected if its candidates were elected, it would scarcely need a bishop or elder to tell them how to vote. It was exactly so with the "Mormons."

One unfortunate thing, however, occurred in connection with the summer election of 1843, which rather intensified partisan feelings against the Saints. While the Prophet was in the hands of Reynolds and Wilson at Dixon, Cyrus Walker, a celebrated criminal lawyer of Illinois,came along, whose services Joseph could engage only on the condition that he would vote for him at the coming election as representative for Congress. The *Illinois State Register*, a Democratic paper, declared, and perhaps with truth, that Walker "miraculously happened" to be in the neighborhood of Dixon at this time. Such, at any rate, was the agreement between him and Joseph. And whatever question may be entertained respecting the propriety of Joseph's accepting the services of this attorney on such a condition, certain it is that there were built up strong hopes for Walker and the Whig ticket, since it was generally supposed that the Prophet's vote carried with it the entire "Mormon" vote. On election day Joseph, according to his promise, cast his ballot for Walker; but the great majority of the Saints, on account of a strong suspicion that there was a Whig plot against them, voted the Democratic ticket, including Mr. Hodge's name for Congressman. The rest of the story is told in Ford's *History of Illinois,* and since the Governor had all the facts before him and knew whereof he spoke, his statement is the more valuable.

"The next day Mr. Hodge received about three thousand votes in Nauvoo, and was elected to Congress by six or eight hundred majority. The result of the election struck

the Whigs with perfect amazement. Whilst they fancied themselves secure of getting the Mormon vote for Mr. Walker, the Whig newspapers had entirely ceased their accustomed abuse of the Mormons. They now renewed their crusade against them; every paper was loaded with accounts of the wickedness, corruptions, and enormities of Nauvoo. The Whig orators groaned with complaints and denunciations of the Democrats, who would consent to receive Mormon support, and the Democratic officers of the state were violently charged and assaulted with using the influence of their offices to govern the Mormons. From this time forward the Whigs generally, and a part of the Democrats, determined upon driving the Mormons out of the state; and everything connected with the Mormons became political, and was considered almost entirely with reference to party."

An attempt was made, but was not successful, to prevent two persons from Nauvoo—the school commissioner and the clerk for the commissioner's court, both recently elected—from qualifying at Carthage. In August, 1843, an anti-"Mormon" meeting was called to protest against any "Mormons" holding office. Resolutions were adopted charging every crime in the calendar against the Saints, and in which those at the meeting pledged themselves to resist the "Mormons," peaceably if they could, forcibly if they must. This was followed up later by actual violence. Daniel Avery and his son were kidnapped by the Rev. Levi Williams of Warsaw, John Elliot, and others, and given to Missourians. Rumors were abroad shortly afterwards to the effect that Missouri, or that part of it where the Saints had lived, purposed to invade Illinois to work out their will upon the "Mormons," in consequence of which the Saints petitioned the Governor for protection.

"A President of the United States."

To avoid these political entanglements the Saints used every means within their power. One of these we must give in detail, as it shows the real attitude of the "Mormon" people politically.

1844 was a year of the presidential election. Towards the close of the preceding year, the Prophet wrote a letter to each of the prospective candidates—among them Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, Martin Van Buren, and Lewis Cass, asking him what would be his rule of action, relative to the "Mormons" should fortune favor his ascendency to the chief magistracy. Clay and Calhoun answered, the former declaring that he could give no pledge except what might be drawn from his whole life, character, and conduct, the latter that the powers of the federal government were so limited and specific as to permit no interference with the actions of a state. To both of these Joseph wrote scathing, not to say harsh, replies. Later Joseph declared publicly that "it is morally impossible for this people, in justice to themselves, to vote for the re-election of President Van Buren. . . . As to Mr. Clay, his sentiments and cool contempt of the people's rights are manifested in his reply: 'You had better go to Oregon for redress,' which would prohibit any true lover of our constitutional privileges from supporting him at the ballot-box." And when politicians came to Nauvoo pressing the claims of their respective candidates for the presidency, the Saints began to cast about them for a new policy in matters political.

That new policy was to nominate a president of their own. At a political gathering held at Nauvoo, Jan. 29th, it was moved and carried "that we have an independent electoral ticket, and that Joseph Smith be a candidate for the next presidency; and that we use all honorable means in our power to secure his election." Sidney Rigdon, who had

moved to Pennsylvania, was subsequently nominated for vice-president. The *Times and Seasons* came out with this ticket at the head of its editorial columns; and one hundred and thirty-seven elders were sent out over the states to "present before the people 'General Smith's Views of the Powers and Policy of the General Government,' and seek diligently to get up electors who will vote for him for the presidency." That any "Mormon" entertained the vaguest hopes concerning the Prophet-Candidate and his Preacher-Associate, is not to be thought of as within the range of probability. Everything connected with the affair goes to show that the Saints viewed this as an opportunity (1) to prove their political consistency, (2) to escape the political snare that was already forming around their feet, and (3) to get before the people of the nation some original and powerful ideas respecting government.

"The Views of the Powers and Policy of the General Government" above referred to was a pamphlet published by the Prophet—an able and patriotic document, which is worthy of more than a passing notice.

"Born in a land of liberty, and breathing an air uncorrupted with the sirocco of barbarous climes," it opens, rather grandiloquently, "I feel a double anxiety for the happiness of all men, both in time and in eternity." Then follows a characteristic review of the national government from Washington to Van Buren, under whom, we read, the glory of American liberty began to wane. "Reduce Congress at least two-thirds," it advises. "Two senators from a state and two members to a million of population will do more business than the army that now occupy the hall of the national legislature. Pay them two dollars and their board per diem (except Sundays). That is more than a farmer gets, and he lives honestly. Curtail the officers of government in pay, number, and power; for the Philistine lords have

shorn our nation of its goodly locks in the lap of Delilah." Every convict was to be pardoned and told to go his way and sin no more; the penalty for larceny, burglary, or any felony should be made applicable to labor upon public works, and the culprit taught more wisdom and virtue; Congress should establish a national bank with branches in every state, and the net gain applied to the national revenue; less power should be given the states and more to the general government; Texas, Mexico, and Canada should be permitted to join the Union when they desired to do so; and all the black men should be purchased of their present owners by the surplus revenue arising from the sale of public lands and from the deduction of pay from members of Congress. "We have had Democratic Presidents," it went on, "Whig Presidents, a pseudo-Democratic-Whig President, and now it is time to have a *President of the United States.*" After touching upon the inconsistencies of Van Buren, it said: "Wherefore, were I the President of the United States, by the voice of a virtuous people, I would honor the old paths of the venerated fathers of freedom; I would walk in the tracks of the illustrious patriots who carried the ark of the government upon their shoulders with an eye single to the glory of the people; and when that people petitioned to abolish slavery in the slave states, I would use all honorable means to have their prayers granted, and give liberty to the captive by paying the Southern gentlemen a reasonable equivalent for his property; that the whole nation might indeed be free."

These views were commented upon very freely by the press, east and west. Some papers spoke favorably of them, contrasting the open pledges of the "Mormon" candidate with the shifting, evasive methods of some of the others. The views on slavery were especially striking. Josiah Quincy visited the Prophet a few weeks before the latter's

death, in 1844; to him Joseph expressed himself on this subject along the lines followed in the pamphlet; and that statesman and writer declared that "if the retired scholar," Ralph Waldo Emerson, "was in advance of his time when he advocated this disposition of the public property in 1855, what shall I say of the political and religious leader who had committed himself, in print, as well as in conversation, to the same course in 1844 If the atmosphere of men's opinions were stirred by such a proposition when war-clouds were discernible in the sky, was it not a statesman-like word eleven years earlier, when the heavens looked tranquil and beneficent "

"A Judas in Our Midst."

This inimical party spirit in Illinois at this time, was eagerly embraced, as is always the case, by religious jealousy. Sectarian bigotry had ever been on the elert for a pretext against the "Mormons," and had enthusiastically joined hands with elements of "the baser sort" to encompass the defeat of a religion that showed signs of superior energy and success. Hence, when some of the narrow-minded and unteachable clergy in the vicinity of Nauvoo found the politicians and their papers clamorous against the "Mormons," they readily joined in the hue and cry.

But this religious and political combination could not have succeeded in their evil purposes, if it had not been reinforced by traitors and apostates within the Church. "All the enemies upon the face of the earth," said the Prophet in December, 1843, at a meeting of the city council, "may roar and exert all their power to bring about my death, but they can accomplish nothing, unless some who are among us, who have enjoyed our society, have been with us in our councils, participated in our confidence, taken us by the hand, called us brother, saluted us with a kiss, join with our enemies, and by

falsehood and deceit, stir up their wrath and indignation against us,and bring their united vengeance upon our heads." But in this very address he exclaimed: *"We have a Judas in our midst."*

Not long after this it transpired that there were, not one, but several Judases. O. P. Rockwell, a city policeman, had said something to Joseph about some new attempts on the part of the Prophet's enemies to get him into their power. Hence a number of additional policemen had been appointed to patrol the city, especially at night. This, together with the remark of Joseph's concerning a Judas, had given great offense to William Law and William Marks, president of the Nauvoo Stake. The former, on two different occasions, had asked for and obtained a special investigation, by the city council, into certain dangers, while he professed to fear greatly, on account of these extra police, whom, he averred, had been sworn in under secret oath, to disturb his peace. "What can be the matter with these men?" asked the Prophet, shortly after this. "Is it that the wicked flee when no man pursueth, that hit pigeons always flutter, that drowning men catch at straws, or that Presidents Law and Marks are traitors." Subsequent events proved that Law, at least, was a traitor, and that he was the head of a band of conspirators, whose secret meetings were in danger of being disturbed if not broken up by the police of whom he complained. Not long after this a notice appeared in the *Times and Seasons* that Robert D. Foster, Wilson Law, William Law, and Jane Law had been excommunicated from the Church "for unchristianlike conduct." Foster had been a consort of the infamous Bennett; William Law had been second counselor to Joseph.

Concerning some of the secret meetings of this society of traitors and their designs against the Prophet and the liberties of Nauvoo, we have a detailed account given by Deni-

son L. Harris and Robert Scott, who were young men at this time. Harris was living at his father's in Nauvoo, Scott had been reared in William Law's family. They had both been invited to a secret meeting, the former by Austin Cowles, a member of the high council, and the latter by Law. They had been told something about its general purposes, and warned not to breathe a word concerning it to a soul, except Harris's father, who might come if he wished. The thing having been communicated to the elder Harris, he decided to ask the Prophet's advice. Joseph told him not to go himself, but to let his son go.

The first meeting was held on a Sabbath afternoon at William Law's new brick house. There were many present, among whom they recognized the two Laws, the two Higbees, the two Fosters, Cowles, the Hicks brothers, and two prominent merchants, named French and Rollinson. The time was spent in denouncing the "fallen Prophet," and in urging the necessity of organizing. A meeting was called for the following Sunday. The boys reported to Joseph [illegible] seen and heard, and were requested by him to attend again. This second meeting was occupied in a similar manner, except that Hyrum Smith and other leading brethren came in for their share of vilification and abuse. The boys again reported to the Prophet, and were requested to attend the third meeting. This time, however, Joseph had considerable apprehensions concerning the young men's safety; but he said that he hardly thought that their blood would be shed, though under no consideration were they to take any of their oaths. So they went, feeling that they might never return alive.

The doors were guarded by armed men. They were, however, admitted. An organization was effected. Francis Higbee, a justice of the peace, sat at the table administering the oath to each person as he came up. "You solemnly

swear," read this blood-curdling instrument,"before God and all holy angels, and these your brethren by whom you are surrounded, that you will give your life, your liberty, your influence, your all, for the destruction of Joseph Smith and his party, so help you God." Then the person signed his name in a book. Among the number were three women, heavily veiled, one of whom was weeping. When everyone else had sworn and signed, the boys were approached and importuned to do the same. They were coaxed, amid general attention. They quietly but firmly refused. Then they were threatened; but still they would not be sworn.

"You know too much now," was the general cry, "and you must join or die!" But they were firm.

Knives were drawn, and guns were cocked, and men rushed upon them from all parts of the room. But they were protected by the calmer feelings of some of the leaders. It was suggested that the room which they occupied at the time was an improper place to commit such a deed as was contemplated; the attention of passers-by might be attracted. So they all started for the cellar. On their way, however, someone suggested the possibility of their being discovered, for the boys' parents knew where they were. This turned the tide, and the young men were dismissed after being warned that if they ever divulged what they had heard they would be killed, night or day.

On approaching the bank of the river, they discovered that the Prophet and Scott's brother John were hidden there. The whole situation was discussed by these four. Joseph was unusually moved, he wept.

"You do not know," he said, "how all this will end; but I do! I fully comprehend it!"

This fact that there existed a plot against the Prophet's life is confirmed, first, by affidavits by M. G. Eaton and A. B. Williams, and, secondly, by actions of the principals in it

—the Laws, the Higbees, and the Fosters; for subsequently they formed an organization with "apostles," "prophets," and other officers after the pattern of the Church. Their contention, strangely enough, was that the Church was true but the leaders "fallen." Some of these men, according to all the evidence that has reached our day concerning them, were guilty of the gravest immoralities, for which they had been cut off from the Church. And the fact of their eagerness to imbrue their hands in the blood of innocence, of which there is abundant proof, is sufficient evidence of their depravity; since, if Joseph and his fellow-apostles were guilty of the heinous offense these men charged against them, these apostates would not have resorted to secret plots, but would have brought them before the law. Inflammatory editorials in the Whig papers and public meetings at various places passing resolutions to expel or exterminate the "Mormons" from the state, emboldened this apostate gang within the city; and the violent and unprincipled without, concerted with the treacherous and base within, Nauvoo, to accomplish the overthrow of "Mormonism" and the death of its leading men. Arrests and counter-arrests were made. Foster threatened the life of the Prophet in open day, and was arrested. He retaliated by planting a suit for defamation of character and false imprisonment. Finally, there appeared a prospectus of an anti-"Mormon" sheet, to be called *The Nauvoo Expositor,* which expressed the intentions of the publishers to advocate the repeal of the city charter and to lay bare the wickedness of the citizens, irrespective of the position occupied by the wrong doers.

On the 7th of June, 1844, appeared the first issue of the *Expositor,* reeking with libel and threats. The leading citizens, men and women, were spoken of and slandered in the most indecent terms. One great cry of indignation arose from the city. In any other part of the Union, not to speak

of the West, a mob would have immediately destroyed the press and cut off the ungodly career of the libelers. But the "Mormons" awaited peaceful and legal measures. It is highly probable that this libelous publication was issued only for the purpose of luring the "Mormons" into the commission of some overt act that would make them amenable to the law.

A meeting of the city council was called. The members realized fully the gravity of their situation. "They felt that they were in a critical position, and that any move made for the abating of that press would be looked upon, at least represented, as a direct attack upon the liberty of speech, and that, so far from displeasing our enemies, it would be looked upon by them as one of the best circumstances that could transpire to assist them in their nefarious and bloody designs." Nevertheless, after much deliberation, they decided that the printing-office whence issued the *Nauvoo Expositor* was a public nuisance, together with such copies of the paper as might be found in the establishment; and the mayor was instructed "to cause said establishment and papers to be removed without delay, in such manner as he should direct."

The city marshal, John P. Greene, was ordered to abate the nuisance, which he forthwith proceeded to do. The door was broken down, the press carried out and broken, the type pied, the papers burned; and a report of what was done given to the mayor, Joseph Smith.

The conspirators thereupon set fire to the building and "fled" to Carthage, crying out that the "Mormons" had driven them away from their homes. The flames, however, were put out by the police before any damage had been done. At Carthage Francis Higbee swore out a complaint against Joseph Smith and all the members of the city council for riot. The warrant required that they go before Justice Morrison "or some other justice of the peace." Joseph refused to go

to Carthage, but expressed his willingness to go before "some other justice." But the constable insisted on his going to Carthage. The usual recourse, however,—a writ of *habeas corpus*—settled matters for the time being.

Excitement in and about Hancock county now rose to a high point. Meetings were held at Warsaw, Carthage, and other places, at which the most violent counsels prevailed. The liberty of the press—that sacred boon of Americans—had been invaded at Nauvoo; and the ordinary forms of legal procedure would be ineffective to remedy the evil! The Governor was invoked to render immediate assistance; but lest time be wasted forces must be collected, so as to be ready when he made his appearance. These forces, however, once mustred, could not restrain their impatience for action; and so they went against the settlements of the Saints around Nauvoo threatening them with death or banishment if they would not deny the divine calling of Joseph Smith, leave within a few days for Nauvoo, or give up all their arms. The Saints, however, always appealed to the Prophet for advice, who told them not to relinquish any of their rights as American citizens as long as they were able to defend them, but if they were not sufficiently numerous, to flee to the city for protection.

In the meantime, the Saints kept the Governor informed concerning all that was going on. Joseph expressed his willingness to abide by the results of the law respecting the destruction of the press; he would go to Springfield for trial as soon as he was so requested by his Excellency. Afterwards, upon the advice of Judge Thomas, the mayor and the councilors went before Justice Wells, a non-"Mormon," at Nauvoo, were tried, and acquitted. Pacific resolutions were adopted at a public meeting, denying the wild rumors afloat concerning the "Mormons," and men were sent out to disabuse the public mind of wrong impressions respecting their

conduct and intentions. But this failing to have the desired effect—for the sentiment against them was bitter everywhere—Nauvoo was declared under martial law.

It was at this time that Joseph delivered his famous address—his last public utterance to the people whom he loved so devotedly, and for whom he had many times expressed himself as willing to lay down his life. He stood upon the framework of an unfinished building, in full uniform, surrounded by the legion and a vast throng of citizens. It was not only his blood, he said, that his enemies sought, but likewise the blood of "every man in whose heart dwells a single spark of the fulness of the gospel." The Saints had not violated any law, but had always held themselves amenable to its operations; and their enemies—those who were now stirring up this strife against them—were endeavoring to hide their own infany under cover of alleged "Mormon" atrocities. He and the city councilors had been tried, and acquitted, according to the very terms of the warrant issued for their apprehension "before some other justice of the peace." The Governor had been kept informed concerning all that was done by the saints and also by the strife-breeders. The General called upon his people to stand by him to the death in defense of their rights as Americans. After invoking the aid of all "whose hearts thrill with horror to behold the rights of freemen trampled under foot," he drew his sword, and, pointing it heavenward, exclaimed—

"I call God and angels to witness that I have unsheathed my sword with a firm and unalterable determination that this people shall have their legal rights, and be protected from mob violence, or my blood shall be spilt upon the ground like water, and my body consigned to the silent tomb. While I live, I will never tamely submit to the dominion of cursed mobocracy. I would welcome death rather than submit to this oppression; and it would be sweet, oh, sweet, to rest in

the grave, rather than submit to this oppression, agitation, annoyance, confusion, and alarm upon alarm any longer."

The Prophet, in consequence of premonitions as to his approaching death, requested Hyrum to go with his family to Cincinnati, that he might succeed him in the Presidency of the Church. But the faithful Hyrum would not leave his brother at such a critical moment. The apostles who were absent on missions were asked to return home. Every preparation was made to defend the city should any attack be made against it.

"Like a Lamb to the Slaughter."

On the 21st of June, word reached Joseph from the Governor, to the effect that the executive had arrived at Carthage and that he requested a conference with persons whom the Prophet might wish to send. John Taylor and Dr. John M. Bernhisel were chosen. They were familiar with all that had been done in the recent troubles, and were furnished, moreover, with documents that would set the Governor right. Upon reaching Carthage, which they did towards midnight, they went to the Hamilton hotel, where Governor Ford also stayed. On two different occasions they were disturbed by men who endeavored, by falsehood and deceit, to get the brethren separated; for they suspected that the approaching conference with his Excellency would prove fatal to their schemes.

Next morning the messengers were invited into the Governor's rooms. They were surprised and disgusted to find him surrounded by "some of the vilest and most unprincipled men." Among them were Wilson and William Law, Foster, the Higbees, and a dozen or fifteen others, either apostates or bitter and avowed enemies of the "Mormons." They laid their case before Governor Ford, and invited him to inspect the documents, which they placed in his hands.

During their relation of the facts, they "were frequently, rudely, and impudently contradicted by the fellows he had around him, of whom he seemed to take no notice." The Governor himself, as he read aloud some of the papers handed him, was interrupted by,"That's a lie!" or "That's an infernal falsehood!" There was little probability therefore, that Governor Ford, surrounded by such counselors, would be impressed by the conversation of the brethren. The Governor seemed bent on having Joseph come to Carthage,as the only means of "satisfying the people," and when it was represented to him that their lives would thereby be endangered, he pledged his faith and that of the state that they would be protected. Returning to Nauvoo, they reported to the Prophet.

On the morning of the 23rd, Joseph, Hyrum, and one or two others crossed the river with a view to going to the Rocky mountains. They had decided to do this from a conviction that it was only they two that their enemies wanted just then, and that if they absented themselves from the city the people would not for a time be disturbed. But they were prevented from taking this step by the importunities of their supposed friends, not to desert their posts in this manner and invite certain butchery to their people. So they returned to Nauvoo, Joseph saying. "If my life is of no value to my friends, it is of none to myself!"

During their absence over the river, a posse from Carthage had come to arrest the Prophet and others named in the warrant; but returned, when they discovered that the brethren were not in the city. Concerning this act Governor Ford has a luminous passage in his account of the affair. "The constable," he says, "made no effort to arrest any of them, nor would he or the guard delay their departure [from Nauvoo] one minute beyond the time, to see whether an arrest could be made. Upon their return [to Carthage]

they reported that they had been informed that the accused had fled, and could not be found. I immediately proposed to a council of officers to march into Nauvoo with the small force then under my command, but the officers were of the opinion that it was too small, and many of them insisted upon a further call of the militia. I was soon informed, however, of the conduct of the constable and guard, and then I was perfectly satisfied that a most base fraud had been attempted, that,in fact,it was feared that the Mormons would submit, and thereby entitle themselves to the protection of the law. It was very apparent that many of the bustling, active spirits were afraid that there would be no occasion for calling out an overwhelming militia force, for marching into Nauvoo, for probable mutiny when there, and for the extermination of the Mormon race. It appeared that the constable and the escort were fully in the secret, and acted well their part to promote the conspiracy."

And so Joseph and Hyrum determined to go to Carthage. They wrote a letter to Governor Ford, in which they stated that their only objection to being tried at Carthage was a fear that their lives would not be safe, but that if the Governor assured them of his protection, they would immediately repair thither. Late that night Theodore Turley and Jedediah M. Grant, who had been sent with the letter to the Governor, returned with the statement that if Joseph and Hyrum were not at Carthage next day, Nauvoo would be attacked by an armed force. But the brethren had already determined to go there, come what might. Next morning they left their beloved city and proceeeded to Carthage.

"This is the loveliest place and the best people under the heavens," remarked the Prophet as he feasted his eyes upon the temple and the city; "little do they know the trials that await them." And on reaching Daniel H. Wells's home, he

stepped into the house to bid him good-bye. "I wish you to cherish my memory," he said, "and not think me the worst man in the world either." A few miles from Carthage they met a company of mounted militiamen on their way to Nauvoo with an order from Governor Ford to demand the state arms in the possession of the legion. At Captain Dun's request Joseph and his brethren returned to the city. It was at the time of meeting these troops that the Prophet said—

"I am going like a lamb to the slaughter; and I am calm as a summer's morning; I have a coscience void of offense towards God, and towards all men. I shall die innocent, and it shall yet be said of me—he was murdered in cold blood."

After the collection of the state arms, the company of militia with the "Mormon" party started for Carthage. As they passed the masonic hall, Joseph said to a number of men who had gathered there: "Boys, if I don't come back, take care of yourselves. I am going like a lamb to the slaughter." And later when they passed the Prophet's farm, he lingered behind to look at it. Some one remarking upon his action, he said, "If some of you had such a farm, and knew you would not see it any more, you would want to take a good look at it for the last time."

Towards midnight they reached Carthage. "Great excitement," says President Taylor, who was with the party, "prevailed on and after our arrival. The Governor had received into his company all of the companies that had been in the mob, these fellows were riotous and disorderly, hallooing, yelling, and whooping about the streets like Indians, many of them intoxicated; the whole presented a scene of rowdyism and low-bred ruffianism only found among mobocrats and desperadoes, and entirely revolting to the best feelings of humanity." That night they rested at the Hamilton.

It will be remembered that the contention of the authorities at Carthage was that Joseph and the city councilors

must be tried by Morrison, the justice who issued the warrant. No other justice would answer the purpose. But the day after their arrival at Carthage they were taken before a Justice Smith, who was also captain of the Carthage Greys; but they were released on heavy bail. Later, however, Joseph and Hyrum were arrested for treason on a writ sworn out by two apostates named Spencer and Norton—"two worthless fellows," says Elder Taylor, "whose words would not have been taken for five cents, and the first of whom had a short time previously been before the mayor in Nauvoo for maltreating a lame brother." On this charge they were remanded to prison, first occupying a cell, but afterwards what was called the debtors' ward. Governor Ford declares that the brethren were placed here for the purpose of better preserving their lives, but they strongly objected to being confined there. On the morning of the 26th Governor Ford and Joseph had a lengthy interview, in which the whole situation was gone over by the latter at the Governor's request. It was on this occasion that the executive promised to take Joseph with him to Nauvoo, if he went, as was his intention then. He also renewed his pledge to furnish him the necessary protection from mob violence. That afternoon the prisoners were illegally taken from the jail to the court of Justice Smith, but the trial was postponed till the 27th, which date the justice afterwards changed to the 29th, in order that, as Captain of the Carthage Greys, he might accompany Governor Ford to Nauvoo. The brethren were taken back to jail.

That night the seven men in prison—Joseph and Hyrum Smith, John Taylor, Willard Richards, John S. Fullmer, Stephen Markham, and Dan Jones—spent in as pleasant a way as circumstances would allow. After the rest had retired, which they did at a late hour, Brother Richards sat up writing as long as his candles would permit. Joseph and

Hyrum lay on the only bedstead in the room, the others were stretched out on the floor. But it appears that there was not much sleep on the part of any of them. The Prophet especially, who under every other peril of his perilous life had exhibited such a calm demeanor, appeared to entertain grave apprehensions concerning his safety. During the night a gunshot outside broke the stillness, which caused Joseph to exchange his place in the bed for one on the floor between Elders Jones and Fullmer.

"Lay your head on my arm for a pillow, Brother Fullmer," he said; after which the two carried on a conversation in an undertone.

"I would like to see my family again," he remarked, among other misgivings as to his fate. "I would to God that I might preach to the Saints in Nauvoo once more." Then a silence, and presently, to Dan Jones—

"Are you afraid to die "

"Do you think that time has come? Engaged in such a cause I do not think death would have many terrors."

"You will yet see Wales, and fill the mission appointed you, before you die," the Prophet said.

On the morning of the 27th, Governor Ford went to Nauvoo, but he did not take the Prophet because at a council his officers had deemed it "highly inexpedient and dangerous" for them to do so. He had dismissed all of the twelve or thirteen hundred troops at Carthage, except three companies, one of which now accompanied him to Nauvoo, and the other two—the Carthage Greys—were left to guard the jail. On reaching the city, he delivered an address before a body of people variously estimated at from one to five thousand, which appears not to have been much to the liking of his hearers, as, according to his own words, they were rather impatient at his harangue. And no wonder, for he warned

them against creating any disturbance lest the whole country come down upon them.

Meantime, at Carthage, the day passed away quietly enough for the prisoners. It was now approaching late afternoon. Elders Markham, Fullmer, and Jones had left the jail, the last having been refused admittance once he had gone out, the first having been forcibly helped on his horse and driven out of town at the muzzle of the gun, though he held a passport, signed by the Governor, permitting him to go in and out of the jail at pleasure. The four brethren, now confined, felt "unusually dull and languid, with a remarkable depression of spirits." Brother Taylor sang twice a hymn, lately introduced into Nauvoo, "A Poor Wayfaring Man of Grief," the second time at the request of Hyrum.

Soon after this, Elder Taylor, on looking out of the window, saw a number of men with painted faces coming towards the jail. Instantly Dr. Richards and Hyrum sprang to the door pressing their shoulders against it. The mob ascended the stairway, pushed on the door, and finding that they could not get in, fired through the keyhole. Presently another shot came through the door, striking Hyrum on the left side of the nose. At the same time another ball from the outside struck him, passing through his body. This last came from the window and was doubtless fired by one of the Carthage greys, the company placed there to protect the prisoners from violence! Hyrum fell, exclaiming—"I am a dead man!"

Joseph, with grief indescribable overspreading his countenance, approached the body of his brother, bent over it, and cried, "Oh! my poor, dear brother Hyrum!" But instantly recovering himself, he stepped quickly, firmly to the door, with determined countenance, and, pulling from his pocket a six-shooter left him by Brother Wheelock, opened the door slightly, snapped it six times successively, three barrels of

which were discharged. This done, he stepped back, whereupon the mob clambered up farther on the stairs and discharged their guns into the room, Elder Taylor parrying them off with a stick. Great streams of fire came through the doorway. The crowd below grew every instant, and it appeared that in a moment the mob would break into the room.

Elder Taylor at this point went to the window with the intention of leaping out, when a ball shruck him in the thigh and he fell forward, and would have gone out of the window but for another shot which struck his watch and caused him to fall inside the room. He crawled under the bed, being wounded in three places while doing so.

The Prophet afterwards attempted to leap out of the window, when two balls pierced him and he fell outward exclaiming—

"O Lord, my God!"

At this instant the mob outside shouted, "He's leaped the window!" and immediately the crowd left the stairway. This probably saved Elder Richards's life, since he was thus far unhurt. The Doctor started for the door to learn whether the doors into the prison were unbarred, when Elder Taylor spoke up—

"Stop, Doctor, take me along." He did so, and the wounded man was dragged into a narrow cell prepared for criminals.

"Oh, Brother Taylor," exclaimed Dr. Richards, "is it possible that they have killed both Brother Hyrum and Joseph? It cannot surely be, and yet I saw them shoot them." And raising his hands two or three times, he cried out, "O Lord, my God, spare thy servants."

"Brother Taylor," he said, covering him with a filthy mattress, "this is a terrible event! I am sorry I can do no better for you. You may yet live to tell the tale, but I expect they will kill me in a few minutes.

But the fiendish murder was accomplished. In three minutes the mob had done its work—killed the Prophet and Patriarch, and critically wounded Apostle Taylor. Then they fled in consternation from the scene of the butchery. Not only they but the people in the town and its environments made a precipitate flight, and the only persons left at Carthage were Dr. Richards, the hotel-keeper, and one other, besides the dead and wounded. The wicked fled, but no man pursued, or thought of pursuing!

At 8 o'clock a messenger was despatched to Nauvoo with a note signed by Elders Richards and Taylor, announcing the assassination of Joseph and Hyrum. But the messenger was prevented from entering the town by the Governor's troops, and brought back to Carthage. So that the news did not reach the city till next morning. On the Governor's arrival at the scene of the murder, Dr. Richards sent a message to Nauvoo, in which occur these words—

"I say to all citizens of Nauvoo—My brethren, be still, and know that God reigns. Don't rush out of the city—don't rush to Carthage—stay at home and be prepared for an attack from Missouri mobbers."

Then the Governor fled to Quincy.

On the 28th the bodies of the Prophet and Patriarch were taken to Nauvoo. A concourse of people met them outside the city. "The women broke out in lamentations," says an ear witness "at the sight of the two rude boxes in the wagon covered by an Indian blanket. The weeping was communicated to the crowd, and spread along the vast waves of humanity extending from the temple to the residence of the Prophet. The groans and sobs and shrieks grew deeper and louder, till the sound resembled the roar of a mighty tempest, or the slow, deep roar of the distant tornado.' Arrived at the mansion house, the bodies were prepared for

burial, and twenty thousand people looked upon the faces of the dead.

There was a public burial at the cemetery, but only bags of sand were deposited in the graves. The real bodies were buried in the unfinished Nauvoo house at dead of night by only a few who knew the secret. In the fall of that year, however, they were taken up and interred in the rear of the house where Joseph had lived.

At the October term of the Hancock circuit court, the grand jury brought in two indictments against nine persons. The trial occurred in May, 1845, extending from the ninth to the thirtieth, and the jury brought in a verdict of "*Not guilty.*" Judge Young, in his charge to the jury, said among other things, that, "when the evidence is circumstantial, admitting all to be proven which the evidence tends to prove, if then the jury can make any suppositions consistent with the facts, by which the murder might have been committed without the agency of the defendants, it will be their duty to make that supposition, and find the defendants not guilty."

"During the progress of the trial," declares Governor Ford in his account, "the judge was compelled to permit the courthouse to be filled and surrounded by armed bands, who attended court to browbeat and overawe the administration of justice. The judge himself was in duress, and informed me that he did not consider his life secure any part of the time."

Thus the case was ended. But "there was not a man on the jury, in the court, in the country, that did not know the defendants had done the murder. But it was not proven, and the verdict of not guilty was right in law." "The elisors," says John Hay, the late Secretary of State, from whom the preceding sentence is quoted, "presented ninety-nine men before twelve were found ignorant enough and indifferent enough to act as jurors."

Joseph and Hyrum "were innocent of any crime, as they had often been proved before, and were only confined in jail by the conspiracy of traitors and wicked men; and their *innocent blood* on the floor of Carthage jail, is a broad seal affixed to "Mormonism" that cannot be rejected by any court on earth; and their *innocent blood* on the escutcheon of the State of Illinois, with the broken faith of the state as pledged by the governor, is a witness to the truth of the everlasting Gospel, that all the world cannot impeach; and their *innocent blood* on the banner of liberty, and on the *magna charta* of the United States, is an ambassador for the religion of Jesus Christ, that will touch the hearts of honest men among all nations; and their *innocent blood,* with the innocent blood of all the martyrs under the altar that John saw, will cry unto the Lord of hosts, till he avenges that blood on the earth."

CHAPTER VI

THE ENIGMA OF PALMYRA

In the "Arabian Nights' Entertainment" there is a story of a man who approached the door of a cave, "a large chamber, well lighted from the top, and in it all sorts of provisions, rich bales of silkstuff, brocade, and carpeting, gold and silver ingots in great heaps, and money in bags." Now, Cassim—for that was the man's name—had greed and murder in his heart, which, together with the excitement he was under at finding such a rich treasure, made him forget the charm by which alone it might be obtained. "Open barley," he cried, "open rye," and so on till he had exhausted his memory of the grains. "Sesame" was the only one he could not remember, and "Sesame" was the only word to which the door of this chamber of fabulous wealth flew open. And so it was to him as though it had not been.

It is something after this fashion that a great many people approach the door of the treasure of truth locked up in the soul of "Mormonism's" earthly founder. The hate and bitterness and evil purposes lurking in their hearts, or a predisposition to make the facts fit their theory, often indeed showing upon their face and general appearance, cause them to forget the charmed words by which alone that treasure-house will pour forth its precious contents. "Open impostor," they cry out in their overflowing venom, "open deceiver, false prophet, base man!" But to them the door remains forever sealed. It opens only to "Man of God!"

When, may we ask, abandoning this figure of speech, has *Hate* ever penetrated into the depths of the human soul

and brought forth anything that would give us the slightest hint of what was there? When has the steel-cold glance of enmity ever gone farther into the heart of man than the surface, that fickle outside which never can be depended upon to reveal what is within? When has the spleen of enemies ever given us a clew to the mysterious workings of human motive, which alone furnishes the criterion of conduct? And yet this is the attitude in which nine-tenths of Joseph Smith's critics approach the study of his character. Before they ever begin their investigation of this problem they securely fortify themselves behind the conviction that he is a religious fraud, and that they are to disclose a mass of deceit, superstition, and ignorance. Is it any marvel, then, that they see nothing else? They come to him prepared, nay in some instances determined, to see nothing else. Everything is yellow to the jaundiced eye.

The enemies of the "Mormon" Prophet and of the work he established will have to change their methods of questioning this man's life. First, they must see the facts of his career in the light, not of his personal enemies, but to that of his friends, and those also who have no purpose to serve. And then they must not confound those facts with their own or others' inferences. Lastly, they must view those incidents in his life without any preconceived notions; in other words they must be prepared to praise the good they find as well as condemn the ill. This cannot be too much insisted upon. In what light do the Catholics regard the heroic standing of the great Luther? In that of a heretic, the instrument of darkness! What kind of biography, think you, the Pharisaical priests would have written of Jesus? And how should Christianity be explained on the assumption that its founder was an imposter? Only the friends of the migthy reformer can appreciate the sublime struggle for good that went on in his soul. Only Christ's disciples could understand the marvel-

ous facts of his earthly career. And, in like manner, only the followers of the latter-day Prophet can comprehend his unselfish devotion to duty and truth.

In the light of these reflections, let us examine a few incidents in the life of the Prophet Joseph; his dealings with his fellow-men, and the sentiments and feelings he inspired in those who knew him best.

"A man of commanding appearance," is Josiah Quincy's description of the great Prophet in 1844, in the full flush of his maturity. And elsewhere he declares: "*A fine-looking man* is what the passer-by would instinctively have murmured upon meeting the remarkable individual who had fashioned the mould which was to shape the feelings of so many thousands of his fellow-mortals. But Smith was more than this, and one could not resist the impression that capacity and resource were natural to his stalwart person." Of all men whom Mr. Quincy had met, and the range of his acquaintance with great men was very wide, Joseph was one of the two men he could name who "seemed best endowed with that kingly faculty which directs, as by intrinsic right, the feeble or confused souls who are looking for guidance." He speaks also of "the impression of rugged power that was given by the man." "The Prophet," wrote an English traveler, in 1843, "is a kind, cheerful, sociable companion. I believe that he has the good-will of the community at large, and that he is ever ready to stand by and defend them in any extremity; and as I saw the Prophet and his brother Hyrum conversing together one day, I thought I beheld two of the greatest men of the nineteenth century." An officer of the United States artillery, who visited Nauvoo in 1842, said, "The Smiths are not without talent. Joseph the chief is a noble-looking fellow, a Mahomet every inch of him." And a member of Congress, after meeting the Prophet at Washington, wrote home to his wife, "He is apparently from forty

to forty-five years of age, rather above the middle stature, and what the ladies would call a very good-looking man. In his garb there are no peculiarities, his dress being that of a plain, unpretending citizen. He is by profession a farmer, but is evidently well-read." Speaking of his address in general this same Congressman further observes that "everything he says is in a manner to leave an impression that he is sincere. There is no levity, no fanaticism, no want of dignity in his deportment." A Masonic grand master said of the Prophet in the *Advocate*: "With Joseph Smith, the hospitality of whose house I kindly received, I was well pleased. Of course, on the subject of religion we widely differed, but he appeared to be quite as willing to permit me to enjoy my right of opinion as I think we all ought to be to let Mormons enjoy theirs. But instead of the ignorant and tyrannical upstart, judge my surprise at finding him a sensible, intelligent companion and gentlemanly man . . . . He is a fine-looking man, about thirty-six years of age, and has an interesting family."

All this is from intelligent and educated gentleman, non-"Mormons," who were accustomed to careful and accurate observation of facts and persons. We turn now to the estimation in which he was held by his own people.

The late President George Q. Cannon, who was a youth at the time of Nauvoo's glory, writes in his *Life of Joseph Smith*: "He was during this period a man of great physical beauty and stateliness. He was just six feet in height, standing in his stockings, and was grandly proportioned. In his mature years he weighed about two hundred pounds. His eyes were blue and tender; his hair was brown, plentiful, and wavy; he wore no beard, and his complexion was one of transparency so rare as to be remarkable; the exquisite clearness of his skin was never clouded, his face being naturally almost without hair. His carriage was erect and graceful;

he moved always with an air of dignity and power which strangers often called kingly. He was full of physical energy and daring. Without any appearance of effort he could perform astonishing feats of strength and agility; and without any apparent thought of fear he met and smiled upon every physical danger."

Apostle Amasa Lyman, in referring to the impressions made upon him, in 1833, by a meeting with the Prophet at Kirtland, Ohio, says: "Of the impressions produced I will here say, although there was nothing strange or different from other men in his personal appearance, yet, when he grasped my hand in that cordial way (known to those who have met him in the honest simplicity of truth), I felt as one of old in the presence of the Lord; my strength seemed to be gone, so that it required an effort on my part to stand on my feet; but in all there was no fear, but the serenity and peace of heaven prevaded my soul, and the still small voice of the Spirit whispered its living testimony in the depths of my soul, where it has ever remained, that he was a man of God."

Apostle Parley P. Pratt, who also knew the Prophet long and intimately, after a description of his personal appearance, says: "He possessed a noble boldness and independence of character, his manner was easy and familiar; his rebuke terrible as the lion; his benevolence unbounded as the ocean; his intelligence universal, and his language abounding in original eloquence peculiar to himself—not polished—not studied—not smoothed and softened by education and refined by art; but flowing forth in its own native simplicity, and profusely abounding in variety of subject and manner. He interested and edified, while, at the same time, he amused and entertained his audience; and none listened to him who were ever weary with his discourse. I have even known him to retain a congregation of willing and anxious listeners for

many hours together, in the midst of cold or sunshine, rain or wind, while they were laughing at one moment and weeping the next. Even his most bitter enemies were generally overcome, if he could once get their ears."

These testimonies will be sufficient to establish some important facts concerning Joseph Smith's appearance and general character. There does not exist, to our knowledge, any statements to contradict this uniform testimony; at least no statements at first hand. There are a great many people in the world who entertain very different notions concerning the Prophet's looks and character, but these are deductions of what they have heard his religious opponents say of his teachings, which have usually been described as being exceedingly unlovely. We may now go with greater detail into the facts of his life.

We have already seen that there was nothing peculiar about his dress. This was always a matter of comment by those who had heard of his claims to being a prophet. They expected to see some fantastic display, gaudy robes, a variety of colors, or what not. But instead they saw only the dress of a common citizen. Mr. Quincy says that when he visited him at Nauvoo in 1844 he was "clad in the costume of a journeyman carpenter when about his work," and that "he wore striped pantaloons, a linen jacket, which had not lately seen the washtub, and a beard of some three days' growth." On the Sabbath day he was dressed no better and no worse than scores of other men at Nauvoo. All this is a strong refutation, not only of the notions that he was peculiarly dressed, but also of the idea that some anti-"Mormon" writers would have us believe of his being arrayed in the highest fashion of the times.

From the first to the last of his troubled career, he was jovial and cheerful. This is admitted by those who can find nothing else in his character to praise. His face always wore

a smile, and he ever had a glad word for the depressed. It is difficult to imagine how he could have borne the weight of care, anxiety, and persecution that was his lot, if it had not been for his extraordinary buoyancy of spirits. He was arrested some forty times on various charges, and, though never once convicted of an offense even when his enemies were judges and jurors, spent several months in prison; he was tarred and feathered while in the hands of his foes; he was several times in peril of his life, having been sentenced to be shot; he was forced to remain in concealment among his friends, going from house to house and narrowly escaping his unjust pursuers; and at last he found a martyr's grave before he was thirty-nine years old. And yet, in the midst of this excessively unquiet career, he was unusually cheerful. Indeed, if he had not been, his soul would have been overwhelmed by the force of personal distress, to say nothing of that which, in a way, he was responsible for in the people he led.

At once an aid to his buoyant disposition and a result of it,was his love for athletic sports. This was manifest throughout his life. "He loved to unbend and wrestle or jump with a friend. The men who could contest with him were very few. He could stand and leap over a bar higher than this head." Once two ministers, whom he had conquered in debate, were greatly shocked at being invited by him to "jump at a mark." On another occasion, while the Prophet was on his way from Dixon to Nauvoo in charge of Reynolds and Wilson, one of the lawyers engaged by these sheriffs, who boasted of his prowess as a wrestler, offered to wager any sum that he could throw any man in Illinois at side-hold. He and Markham wrestled for fun, and he threw Stephen. At this ignominious defeat of one of his party, Joseph said to a young man named Philemon C. Merrill, also from Nauvoo, "Get up and throw that man." Merrill arose "filled with the

strength of a Samson," and lifting up both arms, told the lawyer to take his choice of sides.

"Now, Philemon," said the Prophet, "when I count three, throw him!" And Philemon did, pitching the braggart attorney over his shoulder on to the ground.

That the Prophet possessed a fund of wit and humor might almost be taken for granted. Still we have little in the way of incident to show this side of his versatile nature. Josiah Quincy gives an instance.

"It seems to me General," remarked Mr. Quincy, as Joseph was driving the party to the river about sunset, "that you have too much power to be safely trusted to one man."

"In your hands or that of any other person," was the reply, "so much power would, no doubt, be dangerous." And then he added "in a rich comical aside, as if in hearty recognition of the ridiculous sound the words might have in the ears of a Gentile," "Remember, I am a Prophet!"

Mr. Quincy gives a couple of examples of Joseph's powers of repartee. At the request of Dr. Goforth, one of the visiting party, the Prophet preached a sermon, standing on the steps leading to the mansion, to a few people in the street. He was asserting that baptism is essential to salvation.

"Stop!" said a Methodist minister "who thought it incumbent upon him to question the soundness of certain theological positions maintained by the speaker." "What do you say to the penitent thief?"

"What do you mean?" inquired the Prophet.

"You know our Savior said to the thief, 'This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise,' which shows he could not have been baptized before his admission."

"How do you know he wasn't baptized before he became a thief?" Whereupon "the sort of laugh that is provoked by an unexpected hit ran through the audience; but

this demonstration of sympathy was rebuked by a severe look from Smith," who went on to say:

"But that is not the true answer. In the original Greek, the word that has been translated paradise means simply a place of departed spirits. To that place the penitent thief was conveyed, and there, doubtless, he received the baptism necessary for his admission to the heavenly kingdom."

And so, adds Mr. Quincy, "the other objections of his antagonist were parried with similar adroitness."

Later than this, the party were passing the grove, and Joseph accounted for the seats and platform by saying that when the weather permitted services were held there.

"I suppose," said the Minister, "none but Mormon preachers are allowed in Nauvoo."

"On the contrary," was the reply, "I shall be very happy to have you address my people next Sunday, and I will insure you a most attentive congregation."

"What! do you mean that I may say anything I please and that you will make no reply?"

"You may certainly say anything you please; but I must reserve the right of adding a word or two, if I judge best. I promise to speak of you in the most respectful manner."

As the party rode back, there was more disputing between the two.

"Come," said the Prophet, "slapping his antagonist on the knee, to emphasize the production of a triumphant text," "if you can't argue better than that, you shall say all you want to say to my people, and I will promise to hold my tongue, for there's not a Mormon among them who would need my assistance to answer you."

Soon after this, in allusion to some erroneous doctrine, the preacher suddenly exclaimed:

"Why, I told my congregation the other Sunday that

they might as well believe Joe Smith as such theology as that."

"Did you say Joe Smith?" asked the Prophet.

"Of course, I did. Why not?" was the answer.

"Considering only the day and the place," replied the Prophet, with a "quiet superiority that was overwhelming," "it would have been more respectful to have said Lieutenant-General Joseph Smith."

"Clearly," concludes Mr. Quincy, "the worthy minister was no match for the head of the Mormon Church."

The Prophet never laid any claims to polish and refinement. Of scholastic education he had enjoyed very little. In his early life he could barely read, write, and cypher. Indeed, to the end of his life he was a poor penman. He seems never to have been master of the mechanical features of written style, as the specimens of his literary efforts remaining sufficiently testify. And this fact must be taken into consideration when it comes to estimating the value of such documents as the "Views," in the interpretation of his character. In that instrument, which, judged by the thought, is able and striking, eight languages are quoted, showing a tendency on the part of the writer of it to air his linguistic knowledge. But this literary shallowness is not to be attributed to Joseph, but rather to his scribe. All his life, however, he was a student; and considering the intense activity of the man, together with his large executive duties and the difficulties of himself and his people, he amassed an extraordinary amount of information of a miscellaneous character. He studied, under capable teachers, Hebrew, Greek, Latin and German, though, to be sure, he could not boast any more than a comparatively superficial acquaintance with any one of these languages. Daniel H. Wells, a man of trained legal abilities, was wont to say that Joseph had a wonderful knowledge of Constitutional law, greater than any man he

ever knew. He was well versed in general history, and though he appears never to have given much attention to science, as such, his naturally vigorous and powerful understanding grasped almost intuitively the great fundamentals of scientific truth. In all his researches he was aided unusually by the Holy Spirit, whose devoted pupil he was, if we may be permitted to use this expression. His speciality, however, was theology, the science of God, in which he was incomparably the superior of every other living man, and this, in reality, is but small praise.

We have many sayings of the Prophet's as well as numerous incidents of his life, that go to show his unbounded affection, not only to his family and relatives, but also to all his friends, and even to the lower animals. The ties which bound him to his father and mother and brothers and sisters were of the strongest and most enduring kind. The Smiths have always been a clanish family. It was a source of unspeakable grief to Joseph when he had any difficulties between himself and his brother William, as happened once or twice. To Hyrum his heart was bound with a love stronger than the love of sex. In life they were not separated, and in death they were not divided. But his soul reached out to his whole people, whom he loved most passionately. On learning, in 1833, of the expulsion of his people from Jackson county and the sufferings attendent thereupon, he burst into tears and sobbed like a child: "Oh, my brethren, my brethren, would that I had been with you to share your fate. Almighty God, what shall we do in such trials as this!"

"We remember your family with all the first families of the Church who first embraced the truth," wrote Joseph to a Brother Peck, in a letter which he signed, "Your unworthy brother and fellow laborer." "We remember your losses and sorrows; we participate with you in the evil as well as the

good, in the sorrows as well as the joys; our union, we trust, is stronger than death, and shall never be severed."

Not long before his death, he said in a public meeting that he was the same man that he was fourteen years previously and just as innocent. "As I grow older," he continued, "my heart grows tenderer for you. I am at all times ready to give up everything that is wrong, for I wish this people to have a virtuous leader."

And in return for all this the Saints—those who knew him most intimately—loved him as perhaps no other man has ever been loved. The great body of the Church always had the most perfect confidence in his integrity and in his teachings. "I felt as if I could willingly lay down my life for him," said an aged brother to the author recently. And he added, "I don't know what I should have done, you know, had the test come; but that was my feeling at the time; and I believe that I would have done so. Oh, how I loved that man!" This was the sentiment of many thousands. No one who has conversed with the survivors of those days with the Prophet Joseph will regard such expressions as meaningless effusions. Nothing shows better how deep and genuine were the feelings of the people for their leader than the universal grief that prevailed when he was struck down by assassins at Carthage. President Taylor's expressions may be taken as representative of the general sorrow. "I felt a dull, lonely, sickening sensation at the news," he says when his worst fears concerning Joseph were confirmed at the jail by Dr. Richards. "When I reflected that our noble chieftain, the prophet of the living God, was fallen, and that I had seen his brother in the cold embrace of death, it seemed as though there was a void or vacuum in the great field of human existence to me, and a dark, gloomy chasm in the kingdom, and that we were left alone. Oh how lonely was that feeling!

How cold, barren, and desolate! In the midst of difficulties he was always the first in motion; in critical positions his counsel was always sought. As our prophet he approached our God, and obtained for us His will; but now our prophet, our counselor, our general, our leader was gone, and amid the fiery ordeal that we then had to pass through, we were left alone without his aid, and as our future guide for things spiritual or temporal, and for all things pertaining to this world or the next, he had spoken for the last time on earth!" What kind of man must he have been, who could inspire such universal love as this in such a following as his?

But these things do not exhibit in full the greatness of Joseph Smith. A man is to be judged by what he does, as a tree is judged by the fruit it puts forth. If that work be inferior, the man is small, but if, on the contrary, that work be of a superior character, the man is great.

One test of greatness is the power to handle men. Joseph Smith had this in a most extraordinary degree. Of this fact we have ample proof in the way in which the hosts of "Mormons" hung together in those troublous times at Kirtland, in Missouri, and even in Illinois. And the people whom he had gathered around him included almost all the degrees of intelligence from those who were both illiterate and ignorant to the college graduate. The common people looked upon the Prophet as they would upon an angel descended from heaven and dwelling among them for a season. "He was food to my soul," said a man to me the other day, who, in 1844, was an English immigrant, "and I could never take my eyes off him when I was in his presence. I would rather hear him preach five minutes than Sidney Rigdon half a day!" And yet Sidney Rigdon was celebrated among the cultured for his eloquence. When I asked him how it was

that he preferred Joseph's discourse, he replied: "Because he always spoke so simple, and it was always so true!"

But it was not only the common people he thus exercised his influence over. Joseph Smith was surrounded by some of the boldest and most independent spirits that could be found; for among his associates were Brigham Young, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, Sidney Rigdon, the two Pratts, Amasa Lyman, and a host of others, only a few degrees inferior to these. And yet all these men looked up to him as to a great teacher. They were as children in his hands. Further still, he exerted the same mysterious power over those whom he had never seen in the flesh, but who had embraced the gospel, Josiah Quincy, to whom I have referred so many times in this chapter, quotes letters from two Saints in England, who were evidently intelligent, educated men, in which they exhibited great love for the Prophet and confidence in his divine calling. Mr. Quincy gives these quotation for the purpose, as he says, of showing "what really good material Smith managed to draw into his net;" and he goes on to ask: "Were such fish to be caught with Spaulding's tedious romance and a puerile fable of undecipherable gold plates and gigantic spectacles? Not these cheap and wretched properties, but some mastering force of the man who handled them, inspired the devoted missionaries who worked such wonders." These foreign proselytes looked to the Prophet as to some great, mysterious spiritual force, and longed eagerly for the time when they might cut in twain every tender cord that had bound them to their homes and native land, to look upon his face!

Again, the work which this man performed is a lasting monument to his great name. We pass by his production of the Book of Mormon at a time in his life when he was almost unlettered, at least inexperienced in everything but the farm

life of Western New York, and come to the great Church organization that he effected. By all who have considered it without prejudice it is regarded as the most perfect and complete organization in the world. Professor Ely thinks that the German army alone ought to be excepted from this statement. The Church organization is at once so simple and yet so comprehendsive in its operations. And this, humanly speaking, is the product of Joseph Smith.

Such, in brief, are some of the facts in the life of the Prophet. But these, it is perhaps needless to say, are not the facts to be found in anti-"Mormon" works. Those writers carefully avoid them, because they would prove fatal to their working hypothesis that Joseph Smith was an imposter, low, ignorant, licentious. They are content, instead, to set down such inventions as Joseph's purported walking on water, like the Savior, but with planks under his feet to keep him from sinking, and a multitude of such silly stories, that would at once have dissipated every shred of faith in his devotees, however ignorant and superstituous they might have been. But such facts as we have given are contained in the writings of non-"Mormons," who had no private motive to serve and no grudge to take out upon the Saints. Such men candidly admit that they cannot understand the "Mormon" Prophet. Mr. Quincy ends his exceedingly interesting chapter on Joseph Smith with the words: "I have endeavored to give the details of my visit to the Mormon prophet with absolute accuracy. If the reader does not know just what to make of Joseph Smith, I cannot help him out of the difficulty. *I myself stand helpless before the puzzle.*"

And this brings us back to the point of beginning. To reconcile the apparent contradictions in this life will never be possible by assuming him to be a false prophet, a deceiver, a hypocrite, a fraud, and so on. This only increases the difficulty for honest men wishing to arrive at the truth. The

only solution of the problem is to presuppose that Joseph was a true prophet sent of God. Then every thing of a puzzling or enigmatical character that enemies have imagined they detected in him, will at once disappear. Then it will be understood how he could exert such a powerful influence over his heterogeneous people. Then it will be perfectly clear how it was that they clung to him till his death,and how fondly they still cherish his name. Then it will be comprehended how it was that he permitted the seal of martyrdom to be placed on his work.

"Born in the lowest ranks of poverty, without book learning and with the homeliest of all human names, he had made himself at the age of thirty-nine a power upon earth."

CHAPTER VII

THE VOICE OF THE SHEPHERD

The untimely death of the Prophet Joseph threw the Church into confusion. This was the first time in its history that such an event as the loss of its leader and president had occurred. But the Church was not therefore disorganized. The confusion was only momentary. "Mormonism" was not broken up, nor was it even to pause in its miraculous career. God had provided a means by which the work he had established was kept entirely free from dependence upon any man, be that even its first prophet and earthly founder.

The Flock Shepherdless.

Nevertheless, that was a critical point in the history of the Church. Here were between twenty and thirty thousand people gathered in Nauvoo and vicinity, from various states and from England, suddenly deprived of their prophet-leader. They had followed him as few men are followed in this world of distrust and unbelief. They had hung devotedly to his every word, in the firm conviction that he was a special messenger sent from God, and that his utterances were inspired. While they enjoyed his companionship they did not think of the time when they would be deprived of his presence. They were satisfied with present blessings, and attempted not to look into the future to see what it had in store for them. Hitherto he had been, as they believed, miraculously preserved from his enemies. And now that he was gone, they felt the utter emptiness of heart that comes with a personal loss. He had been to them a father, and as children they mourned his untimely taking off.

Their grief of the Prophet's death was augmented by a feeling of uneasiness concerning the question of his successor in the leadership of the Church, and also by a vague dread lest the same malice that had slain the Prophet and Patriarch should turn unsatisfied upon them. There appeared an over-eagerness on the part of some persons at Nauvoo to "set things right." And as the principals in this needless activity were officials who outwardly manifested nothing but a genuine anxiety for the public welfare, but who in their secret hearts were apostates, the agitation of the matter did a great deal towards unsettling affairs. The city council had passed resolutions to the effect that they would "rigidly sustain the laws and the governor of the state." This they had done in response to a request of Governor Ford's through his agents, Colonel Fellows and Captain Jonas, so that he might know their intentions in view of the recent tragedy at Carthage. The same thing was desired of the people at Warsaw. But they replied that they would not sustain the Governor in his pacific methods where the "Mormons" were concerned. Instead, they hypocritically demanded him to tell them which should leave the state—themselves or the "Mormons." And he weakly replied—for Governor Ford appears to have been a timid, indecisive creature—that he would not undertake to point out so delicate a matter! A thing which they knew beforehand. Had he been a man of character, energy, and justice, he would have given them such an answer as would have put a damper upon their murderous spirit. At the same time he undertook, needlessly enough, to quiet the feelings of the Saints by holding over them the terors of mob violence.

A noble-spirited letter, signed by Elders Phelps, Richards, and Taylor, was published about this time in the *Times and Seasons*. "Be peaceful, quiet citizens," it counseled, "doing the works of righteousness, and as soon as the

Twelve and other authorities can assemble, or a majority of them, the onward course to the great gathering of Israel, and the final consummation of the dispensation of the fulness of times will be pointed out . . . . . Union is peace, brethren, and eternal life is the greatest gift of God. Rejoice, then, that you are found worthy to live and die for God. Men may kill the body, but they cannot hurt the soul, and wisdom shall be justified of her children."

False Sheperds.

Of the leading brethren, only a few were at Nauvoo when the Prophet and Patriarch were murdered. Sidney Rigdon was at Pittsburg, and all the apostles except Willard Richards and John Taylor were away on missions, most of them being in the East. Joseph, before he went to Carthage, had sent for the Twelve to return; but it would be long before word reached them, for there were no railroads or telegraph lines in the West at the time. After this tragedy, other messages had been sent to them. But before their arrival some queer things were going on at the headquarters of the Church.

On August 3rd Sidney Rigdon unexpectedly arrived at Nauvoo. He immediately fell in with the element we have already spoken of as anxious to set things right, at the head of which was William Marks, president of the Nauvoo Stake. By this time, Apostles Parley P. Pratt and George A. Smith had also arrived. These brethren invited President Rigdon to meet with them, but for some reason, which will presently appear, he kept aloof from all the general authorities. He was not so averse, however, to meeting with others, and that secretly.

August 4th was Sunday. At 10 o'clock in the morning the people as usual assembled at the grove to worship. President Rigdon addressed them on the text, "For my

thoughts are not as your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord." He related a "vision" which he had received at Pittsburg on the 27th of June, in which he was told that a guardian was to be appointed to build up the Church to Joseph the Martyr. No one could take the Prophet's place; revelation was to continue. He said much, also, about his own position of spokesman to Joseph, to which position he had been appointed by the mouth of the Lord. He was the man, he declared, of whom ancient prophets had sung, intimating that he was the guardian to be appointed.

At the conclusion of his discourse, he urged President Marks to call a special meeting for the following Tuesday; but this, for some reason, Marks failed to do, though he was in full sympathy with Sidney, and appointed Thursday, the 8th, instead.

But the Saints were suspicious, as they had need to be, of Rigdon and his newly-found anxiety for their welfare. They reflected that not long before Joseph's death, the Prophet had refused to sustain him as a counselor. Some of the brethren had pleaded mercy, among whom was Joseph's own brother, Hyrum; but he thought he had been merciful long enough, and though the conference generally voted to retain Sidney in the Presidency, President Smith protested emphatically against carrying him any longer in that office. And since that time Elder Rigdon had gone away from Nauvoo contrary to the expressed direction of a revelation through his leader. After this recreant conduct it was not to be expected that Rigdon would prove an acceptable candidate for the place made vacant by their beloved Prophet.

By the 7th of August, six more of the Apostles had arrived. There was now at Nauvoo Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, Orson Hyde, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, Willard Richards, George A.

Smith, and Lyman Wight. Amasa Lyman was also in the city. A council of the Apostles was called to meet at John Taylor's, where the situation was discussed. Subsequently, a body of men including the Twelve, the High Council, and the High Priests, met, at which President Rigdon made a statement of his claims substantially as we have given them above. He laid much stress on his position of spokesman to Joseph. When he got through, President Young arose and said—

"I do not care who leads this Church, even though it were Ann Lee; but one thing I must know, and that is what God says about it. I have the keys and the means of obtaining the mind of God on the subject. . . . Joseph conferred upon our heads all the keys and powers belonging to the apostleship which he himself held before he was taken away, and no man or set of men can get between Joseph and the Twelve in this world or in the world to come. How often has Joseph said to the Twelve, 'I have laid the foundation and you must build thereon, for upon your shoulders the kingdom rests.'"

The Mantle of Joseph.

When Thursday morning came, there was a great congregation assembled at the grove where the meeting was to be held, for by this time attention was at a high pitch over the question of a leader. President Young called the meeting to order and presided. He invited Sidney Rigdon to speak. And the would-be guardian occupied nearly the entire time of the morning session, but not in his accustomed way. He faltered like a timid man presenting something which he only half believed. There was no force of a great conviction behind his "revelation." The people, therefore, were very uneasy, moving in their seats, impatient for him to get through.

At last he sat down, and President Young rose. He spoke for only a few minutes, but long enough to answer every query in the minds of the audience as to where the authority to lead the Church lay. All those who were present that have spoken on the subject have testified that a marvelous transformation took place in President Young. He spoke in the voice of the martyred Prophet. Not only so; but he assumed the form and appearance of Joseph, so that the thousands at that meeting believed for the moment that President Smith actually stood before them.

"If Joseph had risen from the dead," says President George Q. Cannon, who was in attendance, "and again spoken in their hearing, the effect could not have been more startling than it was to many present at that meeting. It was the voice of Joesph himself; and not only was it the voice of Joseph which was heard, but it seemed in the eyes of the people as if it were the very person of Joseph which stood before them. A more wonderful and miraculous event than was wrought that day in the presence of that congregation, we never heard of. The Lord gave His people a testimony that left no room for doubt as to who was the man to lead them. They both saw and heard with their natural eyes and ears, and the words which were uttered came, accompanied by the convincing power of God, to their hearts, and they were filled with the Spirit and with great joy. There had been gloom, and in some hearts, probably, doubt and uncertainty, but now it was plain to all that here was the man upon whom the Lord bestowed the necessary authority to act in their midst in Joseph's stead. On that occasion Brigham Young seemed to be transformed, and a change such as that we read of in the scriptures, as happening to the Prophet Elisha, when Elijah was translated in his presence, seemed to have taken place with him. The mantle of the Prophet had been left for Brigham."

An appointment for another meeting was made for the afternoon, and the Saints dispersed satisfied in their minds as to the question they had so often asked of late. Promptly on the hour, the Saints returned to the grove. The priesthood were arranged in quorums in order to vote properly. President Young first addressed the Saints. He called attention to the importance of the occasion. It was necessary for them to walk by faith now, and not by sight as they had done when the Prophet Joseph was alive. The people could not apoint a man at the head of the Church;* God alone could do this, and even then he would have to be ordained by the Twelve. Joseph, before his death, had given the apostles every key, power, and authority which he himself possessed, and had placed upon them the obligation of carrying on the work of God in all the world.

Apostles Amasa Lyman, Parley P. Pratt, and Elder W. W. Phelps each spoke, the latter at the request of Sidney Rigdon, who declined to speak himself. They were all very emphatic and positive in their support of the Twelve.

President Young rose again, this time to put the momentous question to the congregation. At the request of Rigdon he put first the question as to whether the people would support the apostles. "Does the Church want, and is it their only desire to sustain, the Twelve as the First Presidency of this people?" A unanimous affirmative vote was the answer. He called for a contrary vote, but not a hand went up. Of course, there were some in the audience who were followers of Sidney Rigdon, and who refrained from voting. But these were few in number. Continuing, President Young

*This phrase has been strangely interpreted to mean that no man, in President Young's judgment, would succeed to the presidency of the Church. Nothing could be further from the truth. The plain meaning is that the appointment must be from God through the quorum of apostles, when it was made, and not from the people.

outlined the policy of the apostles for the immediate future; which was to finish the temple and pursue the work exactly as Joseph had intended it to be done.

This meeting settled the question of succession so far as the Saints as a body were concerned. They had seen the unmistakable finger of God pointing towards the apostles as their leaders, and they had determined in their own minds to give them the same love and obedience that they had given their martyred Prophet. But not so with Sidney Rigdon and the few that followed him. He had been disappointed in his ambition to lead the Church. He had not even secured a respectable following. In appearance, he accepted the decision of the Saints as final; in reality, he continued to hold secret meetings with those whom his crooked ways could deceive. He promised great things to them, ordaining some to be prophets, priests, and kings. His conduct coming to the notice of the apostles, he was, after a proper hearing, summarily excommunicated from the Church. It was then that he came out in open rebellion; for he denounced the leaders of the Church, and exerted all his little remaining influence with the Saints to induce them to do the same thing. Shortly afterwards he left Nauvoo, lived for a time at Pittsburg, from which place he subsequently moved to Friendship, Alleghany county, New York, where he died in 1876, leaving a number of scattered disciples, in a church which he had organized.

The Law of Succession in the Presidency.

To any one at all familiar with the revelations given to the Prophet Joseph and with the order of the priesthood, there can be no doubt as to the legality of this eighth of August action. The consideration of three points will make this perfectly clear.

In the first place, the power of presidency over the

whole Church rests with the quorum of apostles, when the quorum of the First Presidency is dissolved by the death of the President. "Of the Melchizedek Priesthood," says a revelation (section 107) given through Joseph, March 28th, 1835, "three Presiding High Priests, chosen by the body, appointed and ordained to that office, and upheld by the confidence, faith, and prayer of the Church, form a quorum of Presidency of the Church. The Twelve traveling counselors are called to be the Twelve apostles, or special witnesses of the name of Christ in all the world; thus differing from other officers in the Church in the duties of their calling. *And they form a quorum, equal in authority and power to the three Presidents previously mentioned.* The seventy also are called to preach the gospel, and to be special witnesses unto the Gentiles and in all the world. Thus differing from other officers in the Church in the duties of their calling; *and they form a quorum equal in authority to that of the Twelve special witnesses or apostles just named.* And every decision made by either of these quorums, must be by the unanimous voice of the same; that is, every member in each quorum must be agreed to its decisions, in order to make their dicisions of the same power or vilidity one with the other. (A majority may form a quorum, when circumstances render it impossible to be otherwise)."

According to this revelation, there are three quorums in the Church of equal authority—The First Presidency, the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, and the Seventy. Of course, where all three quorums occupy their proper places, the Seventy will work under the direction of the apostles, and the apostles under the First Presidency. Now suppose the First quorum named ceases to exist as such, which is the next in order of presidency? Very obviously the quorum of apostles. This conclusion is absolutely inevitable. There can be no other wrested from this law of the Church. And at the

time we are speaking of, this was precisely the condition. Joseph was dead, William Law had been excommunicated, and Sidney Rigdon alone remained. But there was no First Presidency. Hence, the apostles stood at the head of the Church; and since Brigham Young was the President of the quorum, to which office he had been appointed by revelation (section 124, verse 127), it followed that he was in effect President of the Church; he was the highest officer in the organization.

In the second place, Joseph had bestowed upon the quorum of Twelve all the keys of power and authority that he himself held. This is clear from the testimonies of at least three persons. The words of President Young we have already quoted. The language of President Woodruff is: "It was before we started upon our mission to the East. He [Joseph the Prophet] stood upon his feet some three hours. The room was filled as with consuming fire, his face was as clear as amber, and he was clothed upon by the power of God. He laid before us our duty. He laid before us the fulness of this great work of God; and in his remarks to us he said: 'I have had sealed upon my head every key, every power, every principle of life and salvation that God has ever given to any man who ever lived upon the face of the earth. And these principles and this priesthood and power belong to this great and last dispensation which the God of heaven has set his hand to establish in the earth! Now,' said he, addressing the Twelve, 'I have sealed upon your heads every key, every power, and every principle which the Lord has sealed upon my head' . . . . 'The burden of this kingdom now rests upon your shoulders; you have got to bear it off in all the world, and if you don't do it you will be damned.'"

Benjamin F. Johnson, who was the Prophet's private secretary before his martyrdom, has recently furnished a

strong confirmation of what Presidents Young and Woodruff testified to as having occurred at a meeting of the Twelve referred to, and also what took place at the now famous 8th of August meeting. He says: "Do I know that Brigham Young was the true successor of Joseph Smith? I knew it before the Prophet was martyred, for Joseph had made it known. I was present when the Prophet gave his charge to the Twelve Apostles, when in council after solemn prayer, he rose up with the light of heaven shining in his countenance, related his experiences with reference to the beginning of this work, the responsibilities placed upon him, the persecutions and hardships through which he had passed. He declared that God had revealed all the truth necessary to save mankind, had given unto him the keys of the kingdom, and he had carried the weight and load thus far, and then speaking directly to the Twelve he said: 'I now roll off the burden of this responsibility upon you; I give unto you all the keys and powers bestowed upon me, and I say unto you, that unless you round up your shoulders and bear off this kingdom you will be damned.' The majesty and solemnity of the occasion was something to be remembered. This should have given us the key, but after the martyrdom of the Prophet, and the question arose as to who was the man who should be the leader, the matter was forgotten. A meeting was called. Sidney Rigdon, the most mighty and eloquent man of his age, rose up and said: 'I will be the guardian of the Church, holding it for Joseph.' I listened to Rigdon and weighed his claim for a short time after he closed his plea. Brigham Young arose, and when he spoke, I jumped from my seat and turned around to face him, for the voice was the voice of Joseph Smith. I looked at him and there before me stood the personage of the Prophet Joseph almost glorified in appearance. I knew then where the cloak of the Prophet fell. I remembered then what he had said,

and I knew and still know that Brigham Young was a Prophet of God—and true successor to Joseph Smith."

In the next place, these apostles, with President Young at their head, were sustained "by the confidence, faith, and prayers of the Church." From the very first the law of "common consent" has been in vogue among the Saints. On the day that the Church was organized, Joseph asked those few persons then in Peter Whitmer's house at Fayette, whether they would sustain himself and Oliver Cowdery as the first and the second elder, respectively. Later when the quorum of apostles was organized, the Prophet, as we have seen, first asked the body of priesthood assembled on the occasion whether they wished such an organization effected. And later still, Sidney Rigdon had been sustained by the people as first counselor to Joseph against the Prophet's expressed wishes. No man in democratic "Mormonism" can hold a public office without the approval of the people in the locality where he presides. And on the other hand, this popular consent forms one of the essentials to the holding of any position in the Church. This, the apostles obtained at this August meeting and on subsequent occasions; and hence in this respect also they were in full harmony with the law as given in the revelation.

To the question, "Who ordained Brigham Young? there can be but one answer—*Joseph Smith ordained him.* The Prophet had conferred upon the heads of the apostles,including President Young, all the keys of power and authority that he himself possessed, by virtue of which ordination and bestowal of authority, Brigham Young occupied his position of President. "And it is something to his credit both for consistency and strength of character that he always held that any other ordination was unnecessary."

Brigham Young and the Twelve.

The Saints made no mistake in following the lead of President Young and his fellow apostles who were faithful, as subsequent events abundantly proved. They were men of large practical experience, whose knees had never quaked under the heavy weight of responsibility which they bore—men who had endured, uncomplainingly, the toil and sacrifice, the abuse and hardship, which the Saints had suffered in Missouri—men whom the people had many times proved to be worthy of their love and confidence. They had been with the Church from the beginning, and had not only taken an active part in the ministry, but had never shirked a trust. It is no marvel, therefore, that the Saints felt no concern for the future under the leadership of such men.

Brigham Young was at this time the president of the quorum of apostles, and upon him, mainly, rested the multiplied duties of leading and counseling the Saints which the martyred Prophet had so long and faithfully performed. This remarkable man, born of humble parentage in the dawn of the nineteenth century, was himself a prophecy of what that wonderful century would be. He spent his early days with his father's family on a farm in Vermont and in New York, whither they moved when Brigham was about three years old. With only eleven days schooling, he grew to vigorous manhood in the frontiers of the State, setting out for himself at the age of sixteen as carpenter, joiner, painter, and glazier, and marrying at twenty-three. Hearing, in 1830, of the Prophet Joseph and the Book of Mormon, he began investigating "Mormonism" with the result that, two years later, he embraced the new faith. Henceforth, his life's work was to be among a different people and in different conditions from those he had hitherfore known. He was called to a higher, broader, and nobler work than that which his most hopeful ambitions could picture—a work which

should make him known wherever men could appreciate mighty governing genius, and wherever their religious feelings could be agitated by the name "Mormonism."

From this time on he was a conspicuous figure among the Latter-day Saints. Not long after his conversion he visited the Prophet at Kirtland; and being asked to pray one evening by Joseph he spoke in tongues, which the Prophet pronounced to be the pure Adamic language. Joseph declared on this occasion that Brother Brigham should yet preside over the Church. He was one of the most devoted followers of Joseph. When, during those uncertain days of apostasy at Kirtland, Joseph's former friends, those who had stood high in the Church, turned against him, becoming his murderous enemies, Brigham continued steadfast in his devotion to his new-made friend, and amid the imprecations of apostates, and direful threats, he defended the Prophet at the risk of his own life. He was now an apostle. He preached much both at home and in many of the eastern states.

When the cruel exterminating order was issued by the infamous Boggs, and when Joseph and many of the leading brethren were languishing in jails for alleged crimes, Apostle Young was active in preparing the Saints to leave Missouri. He it was who, under God, nerved the people to accomplish that melancholy exodus, who found in Illinois a haven of rest for their weary feet, and who saw to the many details of the preparation, the journey, and the destination. God was educating him for that greater exodus from Nauvoo to the great West.

But a wide experience was not only the qualification which Brigham Young possessed. This only united with a great original genius. He was, at this time, in his forty-fourth year, of manly and dignified bearing, not so portly as he became later, and his face clean shaven. He was pre-

eminently a practical man; his large experience, combined with his native genius, had made him so. He was far-sighted, and able to turn the tide of circumstances. Brave almost to rashness, he was yet cool and self-possessed in the midst of danger. Of magnetic presence, he was a man to whom others instinctively turned for guidance, and a man whom everyone, even those not of his faith, at once felt to be a great spirit. He was a man of unbounded resources, and quick to act in an emergency. It is thought that had he been at Nauvoo at the time of the martyrdom, that dark tragedy would never have occurred; for, when the Prophet and his party crossed the river to go West, Brigham would have sustained him in the undertaking, and would not have permitted the perfidy of Joseph's "friends" to pursuade him to return. Brigham was intensely earnest; his whole soul thrilled with faith in his great work. This earnestness small men have mistaken for fanaticism; it was largely this that made him what he was. No commonplace talents could have mastered the situation in which the Saints found themselves at the Prophet's death. And yet Brigham Young was a simple man, of simple life and simple habits. He lived on a very plain diet all his life; regarded himself to the last as an uneducated man; and gave credit to the Lord for all that he had accomplished in his long and useful career. With such a man at the head of affairs it was not likely that the Church would be broken up, but there was every indication, on the contrary, that it would receive a new impetus, which actually proved to be the case.

There was plenty of need for brave and earnest men. The Church needed to be purified of hypocrites that were lurking beneath its shadow; the commandment of the Lord concerning the temple had to be fulfilled; the Church at home and abroad had to be strengthened. And all this in the

shade of a black cloud of persecution that threatened to burst at any moment.

The work of purging the Church of questionable characters was prosecuted with vigor. Among the first to be dealt with were Sidney Rigdon and those whom he had induced to believe his pretensions. At the October conference William Marks was dropped from his position as president of the Nauvoo Stake, and John Smith sustained in his stead. Later, William Smith, one of the twelve apostles and also the patriarch of the Church, was excommunicated. A number of others of less prominence in the Church who had either fallen into sin or who had allied themselves with those that tried to lead the people astray, and would not repent, were summarily cut off.

And the work of building up the various organizations went on apace. Amasa M. Lyman, who had been previously ordained an apostle, and who had been a faithful friend to Joseph and a diligent worker in the cause, was admitted into the quorum of Twelve. Those who held the office of Seventy were, during 1844 and 1845, arranged into thirty-two quorums, each with seven presidents according to the pattern set by the Prophet Joseph. Bishops were appointed to preside over the various wards of the city, with instructions to choose deacons to watch in the various districts. Apostles Wilford Woodruff and Parley P. Pratt were sent on missions, the former to England to preside over that mission, the latter to New York to take charge of matters pertaining to emigration.

But the work on the temple occupied most attention. In January, 1841, it will be remembered, the Lord gave a revelation through the Prophet Joseph, in which he commanded the Saints to build a temple wherein they were to perform sacred ordinances, including ordinances for the dead. The Lord added that if they did not build this sacred house they

and their dead should be rejected by Him. Up to the death of the Prophet, only one story of the edifice had been erected. Hence the Saints were very anxious that the building should be finished. So the apostles bent all their energies toward completing it. They sent missionaries to the branches of the Church in the eastern States, inviting all the able-bodied men to come to Nauvoo to assist in building the temple. They were to take with them their gold, iron, brass, and everything that might be needed in the structure; and if they lived at a marketable distance from the city, they were to carry their provisions. Those who could not come were to send what money they could afford. The Saints at Nauvoo were required to devote every tenth day to work on the temple. In May, 1845, the capstone was laid at six o'clock in the morning with imposing ceremonies. In December of this year and January of the next (1845 and 1846), a large number of the Saints received their endowments in the temple. On the evening of April 30th, it was privately dedicated, Elders Orson Hyde, Wilford Woodruff, Joseph and Phineas H. Young, John M. Bernhisel, Joseph L. Heywood, and several others being present. The dedicatory prayer was offered by Elder Joseph Young. On the next day the building was publicly dedicated by Elder Hyde, Elders Woodruff, Babbit, and Stratton being also present and taking part in the services. Thus the Saints, by the most extraordinary exertions, amidst continuous opposition, finished the House of the Lord, and fulfilled the commandment given them through the Prophet Joseph, though at the very time they were making preparations to leave it to be desecrated by enemies.

In the meantime, a proclamation was sent to the Saints scattered abroad, giving them official notification of the death of their leader, and urging them to press on in their duties, for they were not without a head to guide them. A proclamation was also issued to the kings and rulers of the nations,

sounding the gospel note to them, and warning them of the judgments to come upon the earth if the people repented not. A little later, when the Saints were pressed more closely by their enemies, a petition was drafted and sent to the President of the United States and to the governors of all the states, except Missouri and Illinois, asking redress for past wrongs and protection from impending ones. It was a noble and dignified document, but was not responded to except by the governor of Arkansas.

With these things, came another series of disasters upon the "Mormon" people, which ultimately compelled them to seek a new asylum of rest.

CHAPTER VIII

THE LAST DAYS OF NAUVOO

Before the Prophet's death, while he was in the greatest danger from his enemies, he had declared: "It is thought by some that our enemies would be satisfied with my destruction; but I tell you that as soon as they have shed my blood, *they will thirst for the blood of every man in whose heart dwells a single spark of the fulness of the gospel.* The opposition of these men is moved by the spirit of the adversary of all righteousness. It is not only to destroy me, but every man and woman who dares believe the doctrines that God hath inspired me to teach to this generation."

This great leader was scarcely in his grave before his remarkable prediction began to be fulfilled with singular literalness. For a moment after their diabolical deed at Carthage, these enemies were appalled at what they had done; and hence for a short time they ceased active operations against the "Mormons." They did not follow up their infamous work for another reason also. Knowing that Joseph was the guiding genius of "Mormonism," they hoped that in his death would be found the destruction of his religion. They looked on, therefore, for a time to await the result of their crime. But when they saw that "Mormonism," not only retained its strength and vigor, but that under the directing hand of Brigham Young and the apostles, it was actually assuming more formidable proportions than ever, they renewed their efforts with increased determination to accomplish their object.

It may be thought that we attribute too much cool deliberation to those who opposed the Saints at Nauvoo; but

when it is remembered that political jealousy, arising from the fact that the Saints held the balance of power in the country and in a general state election, always found its complement in religious animosity, and that the most prominent politicians of the State were arrayed against the "Mormon" people, it will not appear that we have exaggerated the opposition that drove the Saints from Illinois.

Threats and Vilification Once More.

To gain their ends evil men resorted to their old tactics of arousing again, by abuse and misrepresentation, the general hatred of the people for the "Mormons." It was commonly reported that the Saints were thieves and counterfeiters, and that they protected criminals of every character who came among them. That these charges had no foundation in fact is shown by the testimony of those non-"Mormons" who had investigated them and also by the frank conduct of the city council. Governor Ford said in his message to the legislature in 1845 that he "could not ascertain that there were a greater proportion of thieves in that community than in any other of the same number of inhabitants, and that perhaps if the city of Nauvoo were compared with St. Louis, or any other western city, the proportion would not be so great." The deputy sheriff of Hancock county declared that the thieves which infested that part of Illinois were not "Mormons" at all, that the stolen property was brought through Nauvoo into Iowa, and that, though there were men in that city who aided and abetted theft, they were neither "Mormons" nor fellowshiped by "Mormons." The city council challenged anyone to show a single instance where criminals had been screened in Nauvoo, and at the same time invited those who supposed that their property was secreted in the city to institute a search for it, and proffered to aid in locating it. But no one ever accepted this invitation or took up

the challenge. In order to disabuse the public mind the Saints sent out men over all the country with abundant proof of their entire innocence of the charges against them. But all to no purpose; the sentiment against them was too great.

"The naked truth," wrote Governor Ford to the Saints at the time, "is, that most well-informed persons condemn in the most unqualified manner the mode in which the Smiths were put to death; but nine out of ten of such accompany the expression of their disapprobation by a manifestation of their pleasure that they are dead. The disapproval is most ununusally cold and without feeling. It is a disapproval which appears to be called for, on their part, by decency, by a respect for the laws and horror of mobs, but does not flow warm from the heart. The unfortunate victims of this assassination were generally and thoroughly hated throughout the country, and it is not reasonable to suppose that their death has produced any reaction in the public mind resulting in active sympathy; if you think so, you are mistaken. Most that is said on the subject is merely from the teeth out; and your people may depend on the fact, that public feeling is now, at this time, as thoroughly against them as it has ever been." He went on in this letter to confess his total inability as Governor of the state to cope with the situation, though he admitted that the "Mormons" had acted in a perfectly lawful and honorable manner.

In the autumn of 1845, an anti-"Mormon" meeting was held near the Morley settlement, a few miles from Nauvoo, for the purpose of devising means for the expulsion of the Saints from the State. If we may believe Governor Ford, arrangements had been actually made to have some of the mob fire upon the house in which the meeting was going on, but in such a way as not to hurt any one. This was done; and immediately the meeting broke up in confusion. Men galloped wildly in all directions spreading the alarm that the

"Mormons" had begun their work of death among the citizens. Shortly afterwards, an attack was made on the Morley settlement. Nineteen houses were burned to the ground and the inhabitants—men, women, and children—were driven out to seek shelter as best they might.

This act of depredation sounded the tocsin of war to the mobocrats, and warned the Saints that there was no peace or safely for them in the state of Illinois. Respectable journals like the Quincy Whig were loud in condemnation of these and other outrages. But the sentiment of the great masses was too strong against the "Mormons" for the disapproval of the better classes to be of much avail. From now on, this adverse feeling was fierce and aggressive.

A mass meeting of the citizens was convened at Quincy, where it was decided that, since the public sentiment was against the Saints, the only thing for them to do was, "to obey the public will, and leave the state as speedily as possible." This bit of gratuitous counsel was accompanied by a mild threat that, if the Saints refused to adopt this course, "a last extreme"—force—would be resorted to. A commitee was appointed to confer with the Church authorities upon the matter. The Twelve wrote a statement to this committee that, since the public feelings were aroused against their people, and since it was their own desire to leave the State, they would do so as early as the following spring; but that they were not disposed to sacrifice their property. They submitted that a committee consisting of both parties should be appointed to transact business, that the Gentiles should use their influence with buyers to take the Saints' property at a reasonable price; and then that both parties should use all lawful means to preserve the peace. They denied the truth of the report that they intended to put in crops for the coming year. These things the committee reported to the people of Quincy, though they complained that the report was not

so full and decisive as it ought to be! Before the close of the meeting, resolutions were adopted accepting the proposition of the Church authorities declaring it too late now to settle any difficulties between the "Mormons" and the other people of Hancock county, and promising, not only to prevent any further outbreaks, but in no way "to hinder or obstruct them in their efforts to sell!"

Early in October a convention of the same class of people, for the same purpose, was convoked to meet at Carthage. There were representatives from nine counties. A committee on evidence was appointed, consisting of the bitterest enemies of the Saints. Later this committee reported, charging all manner of crimes to the "Mormons," and "supporting" these charges by a number of affidavits. The course adopted here was identical with that followed by the Quincy people; they requested that the district judge hold no court in that district, inasmuch as none could be held without producing a collision between the "Mormons" and the anti-"Mormons." Thus these counties sanctioned the acts of lawlessness on the part of mobocrats in driving the Saints and destroying their property.

But it is not to be supposed that nothing was done by the Saints and their friends towards an amicable settlement of these difficulties. They had few friends, indeed. Those men of influence who had taken their part at the time when they first entered Illinois, had done so, we have reason to fear, partly because they saw that the Saints would likely become a political power in the state, and that they could turn the tide of that power in favor of themselves. But now that public sentiment was so overwhelming against the "Mormons," these political demigogues, otherwise honest enough, determined to win popularity by persecuting the people they had once befriended. Yet the Saints had some friends left—at any rate, friends to law and order. Among these, the

sheriff of Hancock county, Mr. J. B. Bakenstos, was the most active. He used his utmost endeavors to prevent these outrages on the part of the mobs. He invited the people of the county to act as a *posse comitatus* to go against the mobs that were constantly plundering the "Mormon" villages wherever they found insufficient resistence. In these things the Saints generally took no active part, because the sheriff thought it best for them not to do so, though they kept themselves in readiness for any emergency. Once when the sheriff and his small band went against these marauders, he was so stoutly resisted that his life was threatened. He thereupon commanded Porter Rockwell, who was among his followers, to shoot the leader; and this Rockwell did, killing him instantly. Later Mr. Backenstos was arrested and tried for murder, but was acquitted. For these endeavors to maintain order and peace, he was hated by the mobs. They pillaged his house at Carthage, and his family were thrust out of their home, with threats and violence. His resignation was persistently demanded.

Removal of the Main Body.

In the meantime, the Saints were making active preparations to leave for the great West. The authorities of the Church, it will be remembered, had promised to leave as early in the spring as they could, providing the non-"Mormons" would use their influence in the matter of disposing of their property; and the Saints did use all their power to fulfill their part of the agreement. Not so their enemies. Not only did they not use their influence towards facilitating business transactions, but used that influence against them, and actually renewed hostilities. There is too much reason to believe that the mob were eager to possess the houses and the property of the Saints, and knowing that, in a little while, the latter would have to leave these whether they sold or not, theywere

not at all anxious to buy or see others buying anything of them.

Nauvoo, therefore, presented a busy scene during these days. Committees were moving about disposing of property, and the proceeds were immediately turned into wagons, working animals, and provisions. Blacksmiths, carpenters, joiners, wheelwrights were busy all the day long making and repairing wagons. The sound of hammer and anvils could be heard even far into the night. All work not directed towards preparations for a removal of the Saints, except only that on the temple, was suspended. The Church authorities that were at Nauvoo, with President Young at the head, were active in instructing the Saints how to proceed, and in directing everything.

Their enemies were impatient of the long delay, though it was only February, 1846; and so, in this month, a company of five hundred Saints, including the Twelve and the High Council, crossed the Mississippi, and were soon lost on the plains of Iowa. From this time on, the Saints continued to cross the river to join those already departed, until by the latter part of April the great body of the Church had left Nauvoo. They who remained behind were mainly the poor, the aged, and sick—those, in short, who were the least able to help themselves. There were men that had endured much hardship on account of their religion and had worn themselves but in its service; there were women and children whose husbands and fathers were pressing their way through the dreary wilderness, suffering fatigue and hunger worse than death, to fight for the land that had driven them forth; there were old men and women who remained behind only because, on account of their poverty and sickness, they would prove burdensome to the able and healthy. Surely, the Saints were warranted by every principle of mercy and humanity, notwithstanding the cruelties of the past, in

believing that no mob could be collected so utterly destitute of humane feelings as to plunder and drive these helpless people. But they had sadly mistaken the feelings of their foe, for almost as soon as these were left thus alone, a mob altogether abandoned by feelings of kindness, justice, and mercy, came upon them, and a series of the most cruel acts were perpetrated, of which a parallel can scarcely be found among savage tribes.

The Unhappy Remnants.

The first indication of this barbarity was the kidnapping of some of the brethren. On day in July while eight men were harvesting wheat in a field about twelve miles from Nauvoo they were suddenly surrounded by an armed mob. Deprived first of their weapons, these helpless men were severely beaten with hickory withes, and afterwards sent to Nauvoo, with threats that, if they looked back, they would be killed. For this act, two of the mobbers were arrested and detained. Then followed proceedings worse than the first. Five men, near Pontoosuc, a small town about eleven miles north-west of Nauvoo, were pounced upon by a large force of armed men. In vain they protested against such proceedings. Why were they arrested? For the crime of being "Mormons." By what authority? By the authority of deadly weapons. Compelled by their captors, they marched almost incessantly, day and night, they knew not whither, urged on,when they showed signs of weariness, by the points of bayonets. Twice they were about to be shot, escaping death only because the mob feared to be discovered, by the noise of their rifles, to the "Mormons" who they thought were in pursuit. Once they were on the verge of being poisoned, escaping only because the deadly drink had a suspicious effect on one of their number. Finally, after fourteen days' captivity, they were per-

mitted, after long appeals to the humanity of their captors, to go free. Later fifteen of the mob were arrested.

This affair, however, was not the only source of difficulty to the Saints. Additional trouble grew out of politics. Previously to either departure for the West the apostles warned the Saints that remained at Nauvoo against interfering in elections, or against exercising their right of suffrage. But this warning the Saints disregarded; and the result was what the apostles had foreseen. The interest of the Saints in the election gave fresh occasion for bitterness on the part of their enemies, and failed to accomplish that for which they hoped—the election of men that would sustain the law; for these were beaten at the polls by several hundred votes.

Still, a well-defined pretext was needed by the anti-"Mormons" to go up against Nauvoo. This they were not long in finding. It happened that William Pickett, who had personally excited the ill-will of one of the mobbers, from whom he had taken a gun which had been stolen from him on the occasion of the kidnaping. A "warrant" for his arrest was immediately issued, and served upon him by one John Carlin, a special constable of Carthage. Pickett asked whether Carlin would guarantee his safety from violence at the hands of his enemies if he went to Carthage, and being informed that he would not, he refused to go with the officer. Here, then, was pretext enough; here was a clear case of resisting an officer of the law.

Returning to Carthage, Carlin summoned upwards of one thousand men to aid him in serving the process. There were constables, sheriffs, majors, colonels, and preachers, gathered from several counties, to assist an illegally appointed constable to serve an illegal warrant. But it answered the purpose admirably. Prominent among this motly army of "regulators" was Levi Williams, a Baptist preacher,

who had led the mob that murdered the Prophet and Patriarch. They met at Green Plains, the home of Williams, and resolved that if the "new citizens," meaning those that had purchased property of the Saints at Nauvoo, did not expel the "Mormons" from the State by the tenth of September following, they would do it themselves with their own hands.

The citizens of Nauvoo, seeing these movements of the mob, held a meeting at which a report was given by a committee previously appointed to wait upon the mob. This committee reported that the spirit which animated the anti-"Mormons" was such as to preclude any hope that might be entertained of an amicable settlement. Resolutions were adopted denying strongly the right of these mobbers to interfere with them in any way whatever. They asked the Governor for assistance and protection, and in answer he sent Major James R. Parker, of the state militia, with a force of ten men, and authority to muster what forces he could in the neighborhood without expense to the state! Major Parker, when he arrived at Nauvoo and saw the situation, issued a proclamation in which he declared that nothing was more absurd than the idea that an armed force was necessary to execute civil process in Nauvoo. "I hold myself in readiness," he said, "to aid in executing warrants issued for the apprehension of any person in this place, or in any other part of the country, as soon as the armed force now assembled under pretence of a constable's posse shall have been disbanded." He served notice upon "Constable" Carlin that he would consider him and his forces as a mob. Carlin replied that he would regard Parker and his men in the same light. And it is worthy of remark, here, that the difficulty was therefore no longer between the "Mormons" and anti-"Mormons," as such, but rather between an armed band of men without the merest shread of legal authority and the regularly constitut-

ed authority of the State. Parker wrote to Singleton, one of the mob leaders, expressing a desire to settle matters without shedding blood, but as Singleton saw nothing in Parker's proposition pointing to the expulsion of the Saints, he rejected it, saying, "I say to you with all candor, they shall go." The pretext to which the mob forces were called—to enforce legal process—was no longer needed; for William Pickett was not mentioned.

Acting in concert with a committee of one hundred appointed at a meeting at Quincy, a committee consisting of "Mormons" and non-"Mormons" at Nauvoo formulated terms of settlement. The chief proposition was that the Saints should leave the State within sixty days. But these terms, though satisfactory to Singleton, who said that the "Mormons" had done all that could reasonably be asked of them, were altogether unsatisfactory to the mob. Singleton and some of his assistants, therefore, resigned their command, whereupon, Carlin appointed as commander one Thomas S. Brockman, a Cambellite preacher. "Old Tom" as he was familiarly called, after the mob had been regaled with some "soul-stirring speeches," gave orders to march to the city of Nauvoo.

It is at this point that we get a glimpse at the character of the individual men that comprised the mob, and the motive that animated them in this "regulating" process. After all, it was a small matter to them whether the Saints left the State; the point was, that they should leave in the manner dictated by the mob; and that, too, before they had time to sell their lands and houses. A committee had been left at Nauvoo by the now exiled Saints to dispose of their property. But if this committee were given time to transact all their business there would be nothing left for the mob. The mob were impatient, therefore, of any delay that kept them from the entire possession of the city. They were waiting

for shoes, and it mattered not if they were dead men's. They sought for plunder and blood, and nothing else would satisfy them.

This mob-force was first seen by the citizens of Nauvoo in the early part of the forenoon. The "new citizens" felt no small degree of alarm, and many of them left the city for other and safer quarters. Major Parker having organized four companies of volunteers, they were ordered out to meet the mob, which was now in a field at the head of Mulholland street, not far from the house of Squire Wells. At the suggestion of some gentlemen from Quincy, who were by no means in sympathy with the mob, but who nevertheless desired to prevent any shedding of blood, a committee proceeded to the anti-"Mormon" camp to see if there was any possibility of a compromise. There was; but the conditions were so outrageous that they were indignantly rejected alike by "Mormon" and non-"Mormon." About this time Parker left the city promising to send recruits, which never came; and Major Clifford, who had been commissioned by Major Flood, was in command of the forces at Nauvoo. These, however, were but poorly equipped with arms and ammunition. They had but two cannon made especially for the occasion out of an old steamboat shaft, while their enemies had five good pieces. They numbered only about four hundred, with not enough guns and ammunition, while the mob numbered upwards of two thousand and had plenty of both. Nevertheless, nothing daunted, because they were in the right, they prepared for a battle.

For three days there was firing on both sides. On the third day the mob made a desperate effort to reach Mulholland street, the principal one leading to Nauvoo, but were resisted by an effort equally desperate. The "Spartan Band" under the command of Captain William Anderson saved the day for Nauvoo, though at the sacrifice of the Captain's life

and that of his son, a youth of fifteen summers. The mob forces were repulsed, with many losses, though the facts were kept carefully concealed; and putting their dead and wounded into wagons, they returned to where they had encamped in the morning.

The citizens of Nauvoo, seeing that the State authorities would render them no assistance, despaired of defeating their enemies in the long run. The forces against them and their own deficiencies in number and equipment were so great that it was only a matter of time when they would all be put to death and their property destroyed. And so they entered into negotiations with the mob, with the following result: The city was to surrender; all arms were to be delivered to the committee; all parties to pledge themselves to protect persons and property from violence; the "Mormon" population to leave the state as soon as they could; and five brethren to remain in the city to sell the property. These terms were accepted by the citizens.

And so the mob forces marched into the city; but they flagrantly violated the conditions which they had themselves dictated. Contrary to the terms of the treaty, Brockman issued an order expelling from the state, not only the "Mormons" that still remained, but also all those who had borne arms in defense of the city and all who were in any way connected with the "Mormons." This order he straightway proceeded to execute. The mob yelled like savages at their victory over the Saints. They proceeded to occupy the temple, desecrating its holy precincts with vile jests, blasphemous language, and horrid oaths. A preacher, ascending the topmost tower, proclaimed aloud: "Peace to the inhabitants of the earth, now the Mormons are driven out!" Members of this plundering gang ran everywhither ransacking houses, taking whatever they could lay their hands upon in the shape of fire-arms. They searched the wagons of the Saints

that stood on the banks of the river ready to be ferried across, unpacking the contents, which they scattered over the ground. The sick were treated with cruelty, and even those were brutally disturbed, who were burying their dead. At a mock court held in the temple, some of the Saints were tried and sentenced to death; others were blasphemously baptized in the river by mobbers. These wretches plundered property wherever they found it, without inquiring whether it belonged to the "Mormons" or not.

Meanwhile, the Saints hurriedly collected what property they could, and moved across the Mississippi to the Iowa side. They left behind them their homes and most of their property. They were not granted sufficient time to secure food for more than a few days. And there they lay on the west banks of the Mississippi, the aged and the youthful, the sick and the dying, without food or shelter, now scorching under the rays of a September sun, now shivering in the chill of a September night.

In this way was Nauvoo the Beautiful compulsorily evacuated by the thrifty and peaceful inhabitants that had brought into view its grandeur and loveliness. From a disease-engendering marsh, in the midst of a country "marred, without being improved, by the careless hands of sordid, vagabond, and idle settlers," it had grown under the hands of an industrious and enterprising people, into the metropolis and commercial center of the great state of Illinois. It had always been filled with a lively, bustling people, waking the echoes with the sounds of industry. But in a day had all this beauty and glory been deserted. Not a sound now disturbed the stillness; the din of business was no longer to be heard in its streets; no dog barked an alarm to the wayfarer, or stranger paced its silent walks to ask him why he was there. The grain lay rotting in the adjacent fields, and the railings that enclosed them had been rudely torn from their places to

furnish fuel to a savage barbacue. It was indeed a City of the Dead.

Nauvoo never rallied from the blow it now received. Later the so called new citizens returned. Others came from distant parts of the country to occupy land and houses which they could buy so cheap; and later still a French communistic society purchased much of the property there, including the temple grounds, and flourished in a way until 1849 when the society broke up. The city now contains about seventeen hundred inhabitants, principally Germans, who live by the occupation of grape-growing. The temple was destroyed in 1848, and not a stone remains today to show where this sacred and beautiful edifice once stood.

PART FOURTH

Children of the Wilderness

CHAPTER I

WESTWARD HO!

The Light of the Setting Sun.

It is generally supposed that the idea of moving the whole body of "Mormons" to the heart of the great West orignated with President Brigham Young. But this is a mistake. It can be shown beyond question that had the Prophet Joseph lived a few years longer he would himself have conducted the movement, irrespective of the difficulties that subsequently arose at Nauvoo and the neighborhood. Nor is it detracting anything from the greatness of President Young, when we ascribe to Joseph the credit of having first conceived the idea of the exodus. The labor and genius involved in the actual removal of the "Mormon" people from Illinois to the Rocky mountains and of their subsequent settlement in Utah will ever be held a sufficient justification for our calling Brigham Young one of the first leaders of men and the greatest colonizer of modern times. The laurel-wreath of victory is securely fastened upon his brow.

From the earliest days of the Church, "Westward!" seems to have been its keynote. The idea, it appears, that the West, not the East, was destined to be the abiding-place of the Church during its probationary period, was grasped very early by some of the leading minds of "Mormonism." The first home of the Saints, for instance, was on the borders of

Lake Seneca, in western New York. Thence the Church was removed, by special command of God, to northern Ohio. But in the very circumstances connected with the removal there was a suggestion that Kirtland and vicinity was to be merely a temporary home; for not long afterwards Independence, Missouri, was designated by revelation as the gathering place of the Saints. At first, as we have already seen, it was apparently the intention to move the great majority of the Church, if not indeed, the whole body of "Mormons," to Jackson county. But in 1833 the opposition which the old settlers brought to bear upon the new religion somewhat modified this general purpose; and so Kirtland became, for the time-being, the place of gathering. Afterwards, however, when it became necessary for the Saints to abandon Ohio, the counties north of Jackson, in Missouri, were chosen for settlement; and thither went almost the entire body of Saints. Here probably they would have remained had not persecution ultimately driven them from the State. There are strong indications pointing to the belief in certain leading men in the Church at the time, that Illinois was to be only a temporary home for "Mormonism," and that when a removal occurred it would not be zionward, either. Nor was it a vague, ill-defined feeling. It was doubtless dim enough at first; but gradually in leading minds it became a settled conviction. "Mormonism" had problems to solve which would be insoluble in the crowded East. It required isolation, at least for a time, to develop its latent powers and to show the world that it is a religion of force and vitality, and not a dead faith.

That this view of the situation is correct can be shown by predictions uttered at the time and by positive actions of the Prophet Joseph looking toward the settlement of the West by the Church.

First as to the predictions. Lorenzo D. Young states in

his journal that while he was at Kirtland, 1831, lying sick of a deadly malady, he was administered to by Hyrum Smith, who pronounced the remarkable blessing upon his head that he would recover and go with the Saints to the Rocky mountains and there help to perform a great work. This prophecy made a deep impression on his mind, as it did also on the mind of Hyrum, who seemed to be amazed at the strange words he had uttered. The sick man, it may be added, completely recovered, and subsequently, in fulfillment of the prediction, moved to Utah with the body of Saints, where he lived to a great age.

Years after this, while Joseph the Prophet, Sidney Rigdon, and Heber C. Kimball were approaching the town of Commerce, afterward Nauvoo, and President Rigdon, weary of the unrest that had been his lot since joining the Church, was indulging fond hopes concerning the apparent permanency of this new location, when Elder Kimball rather bruskly interrupted: "A very pretty place, indeed, but not a long-abiding home for the Saints!" The reputation of Heber C. Kimball as a prophet will justify us in saying that this was not a thoughtless remark, but a word of prophecy uttered under the influence of the Holy Spirit. Certainly, it is not very definite as to where the "Mormon" people would go from there; but two things are clear in the premises; namely, that the Saints were to leave Nauvoo, and that they would not be likely to go any farther East.

Lastly, Joseph himself predicted in the clearest possible terms the westward migration of his people. Writing under date of August 6th, 1842, the Prophet says: "I had a conversation with a number of brethren, in the shade of the building [the Masonic Hall, at Montrose, to which place Joseph upon invitation had gone to "witness the installation of the officers of the Rising Sun Lodge"] on the subject of our persecutions in Missouri, and the constant annoyance

which has followed us since we were driven from that state. I prophesied that the Saints would continue to suffer much affliction and would be driven to the Rocky mountains, many would apostatize, others would be put to death by our persecutors, or lose their lives in consequence of exposure to disease, and some of you will live to go and assist in making settlements and build cities, and see the Saints become a mighty people in the midst of the Rocky mountains." Anson Call, who was present when this prediction was uttered, declares that Joseph thereupon entered into a detailed description of the place to which the Saints should go, mentioning in particular "the snow-capped mountains" and "the streams running down from the gorges." He spoke also of the scenes through which the Saints should pass while on their way, of the apostasy that should occur, and of the dead that should lie between the beginning and the end of the journey. Speaking in his journal of a meeting held at the Assembly room in Nauvoo, the Prophet says, "I prophesied that within five years we should be out of the power of our old enemies, whether they were apostates or of the world, and told the brethren to record it, and when it comes to pass they need not say they had forgotten the saying." It is perfectly clear from these predictions that the idea of a home in the West for the Saints was not a vague, uncertain thing in the minds, at least, of the leaders of the Church before the death of Joseph.

But the Prophet actually took steps to plan an exodus of his people from Nauvoo to the Rocky mountains.

In the first place, he made preparations for a select company of men to scout the whole country known as Oregon and California. "I instructed the Apostles," he says, referring to a meeting held on the 20th of February, 1844, "to send out a delegation and investigate the locations of California and Oregon, and hunt out a good location where we

can remove to after the Temple is completed, and where we can build a city in a day and have a government of our own —get up into the mountains where the devil cannot dig us out, and live in a healthy climate where we can live as long as we have a mind to." Accordingly, at a meeting of the Twelve held the following evening several brethren volunteered to go West for the purpose specified. In all, about twenty-five persons volunteered or were asked to form this expedition, either at this or subsequent meetings. Among these were Daniel Spencer, Hosea Stout, George D. Watt, and Samuel W. Richards. At one of the meetings held for the purpose of considering this subject, Joseph said that every man would require five-hundred dollars, a good horse and mule, with the necessary arms and provisions. On the 26th of the following March he addressed a memorial to Congress, asking for authority to raise a company of one hundred thousand men: "to open the vast regions of the unpeopled West and South to our enlightened and enterprising yeomanry."

The duty of carrying this memorial to Washington and of endeavoring to have it presented to Congress was given to Orson Hyde, who was subsequently joined by Orson Pratt. These two brethren drafted a statement for Congress, in which occurs this remarkable passage: "In case of removal to that country, Nauvoo is the place of general rendezvous. Our course from thence would be westward through Iowa, bearing a little to the north till we come to the Missouri river, leaving the state of Missouri on the left, thence up the North Fork of the Platte into the mouth of Sweetwater river, in the longitude of 107 degrees west, and thence up Sweetwater river to the south pass of the Rocky mountains; and from said south pass in latitude 42 degrees, 28 minutes north to the Umpqua and Kalamet valleys in Oregon bordering on California is about 600 miles, making the distance

from Nauvoo to the best portion of Oregon, 1,700 miles." On the 23rd of June, 1844, four days before his martyrdom, the Prophet, in company with Hyrum, O. P. Rockwell, and Dr. Richards, crossed the Mississippi to Montrose, with the intention of starting for "the great basin in the Rocky mountains," as soon as he could procure the necessary outfit; but the treachery of some of his pretended friends accomplished the defeat of this object, and he returned to his doom at Carthage.

In view of all these facts there cannot be any doubt, not only that Joseph conceived the idea of moving the body of the Church to the Rocky mountains, but that he fully matured his plans for the removal, and would actually have conducted the exodus in person had not his martyrdom prevented.

From Nauvoo to Council Bluffs.

Having seen where the idea of the westward migration of the Saints originated, we have now to give the details of that toilsome journey, from the banks of the Mississippi to those of the Missouri, about four hundred miles distant.

Upon leaving Nauvoo, the companies first encamped on the river directly opposite the city, but shortly afterwards they moved northwest nine miles to Sugar Creek, where they were joined on the 15th by President Young and other members of the Twelve. The "Camps of Israel," as the main body of "Mormons" was called, were constantly being increased by new-comers till, by the end of the month, there were four hundred wagons at the place of rendezvous. Clearing away the snow, which had lately fallen, these men and women, most of whom were accustomed to the refinements of an educated home, pitched their tents on the frozen ground, prepared to make the best of their melancholy situation, and awaiting the signal for marching forward.

Here it was that something occurred, which, when it transpired as it must have done to some extent, was likely to occasion no little concern respecting the outcome of the whole westward move.

A day or two after his arrival in camp, President Young took such of the Twelve as were accessible into a secluded nook not far from the place of general encampment, and gravely laid before them the contents of a letter from Elder Samuel Brannan. This man Brannan, who had been editor of *The Prophet,* a "Mormon" periodical published in New York, and who, it seems, was a man more eager for the things of this world than for those of the next, had been instructed to convey, by water, a company of Saints to California. But, before leaving he had apparently communicated with a secret company of political sharpers at Washington—including, it was stated, besides a certain A. G. Benson and ex-Postmaster Amos Kendall, no less a person than the President of the United States—concerning the movement of the "Mormon" people to the West. One of these documents referred to was a compact awaiting the signatures of the "Mormon" leaders, in which they were required to "transfer to A. G. Benson and Company, and to their heirs and assigns, the odd numbers of all the lands and town lots they might acquire in the country where they settled," in return for which the company agreed to see that they were unmolested on their journey; for if the leaders of the migration refused to sign the compact, President Polk, it was affirmed, would prevent the movement on the grounds that the "Mormons" were about to join the British or Mexican side in the controversy then being waged over the western territory.

That the President of the United States was a "silent partner" in this attempted "land grab," is extremely incredible. The probability is, that they were making use of the

President's name merely to give color to their threat about United States troops. At all events, such is the substance of what was laid before the apostles. The details of this interesting meeting are probably lost to history; but not the result. "Our trust is in God," exclaimed President Young; "we look to him for protection!" And the council broke up without even deigning to answer Elder Brannan's letter.

On the first day of March, the word of command was given for "the whole Camp of Israel" to begin its westward pilgrimage. President Young, mounting his wagon, spoke to the people respecting their duties under the new situation. "We will have no laws we cannot keep," he said, "but we will have order in the camp. If any want to live in peace when we have left this place, they must toe the mark!" So these hosts of "Mormon" exiles began anew their long journey over the prairies of Iowa. Permission, however, had first been obtained from the Governor to pass through his territory, and, if need were, to make temporary settlements there. This first day they traveled five miles, resting again on Sugar Creek.

The organization of the "Camp was not so complete and effective at first as it became afterwards. A partial organization was effected at Sugar Creek, and subsequently this was improved; but constant additions to the company, the separation which occurred soon after the first day, and bad roads and consequent accidents, prevented the complete organization of the Saints. At first, the apostles present took charge of divisions, with captains under them. But when, on the 27th of this month of March, Shoal creek was reached, the "Camp" was thoroughly organized. First of all, President Young was elected president over the Whole Camp of Israel. Then the company was divided into two parts, with Brigham and Heber C. Kimball in general charge. Each of

these, again, was divided into hundreds, and fifties, and tens, with captains. Besides, there were commissaries, contracting and distributing, with a commissary-general. William Clayton was appointed general clerk, for there was a clerk for each fifty; and Willard Richards "standing historian for the Church and the camp." Thus, the companies could not only be better controlled, but better provided for; and both officers and people had learned alike the necessity of obedience and strict attention to orders. "At a council meeting subsequent to this," writes President George Q. Cannon, "President Young told those present that they were taking a course that would result in salvation, not only to that camp, but to the Saints who were still behind."

The immediate destination seems to have been Council Bluffs, on the Missouri river, about four hundred miles distant. This point, the main body reached in the middle of June, so that they were in all three months and a half on the way. But by the time the first company reached the Missouri almost the entire distance back to Nauvoo was covered by a train of wagons, so greatly had the "Camp" been scattered and so large was the stream of emigration from the city. There had been other reasons, however, for the slow progress made by even the first group of Saints.

One of these was that many of the people had not suitable outfits and the necessary provisions. The required outfit for a family of five was one wagon, three yoke of cattle, or three teams, two cows, two beef cattle, three sheep, one thousand pounds of flour, twenty-four pounds of sugar, a tent and bedding, seeds, farming-tools, and a rifle; all of which were estimated as being worth two hundred and fifty dollars. But now a few were without this essential preparation for the trip. Colonel Kane says that, in addition to the wagons, there was "a large number of nondescript turnouts, the motley makeshifts of poverty; from the unstable heavy

cart that lumbered on mysteriously, with its sick driver under its counterpane cover, to the crazy two-wheeled trundle, such as our own poor employ in the conveyance of their slop barrels, this pulled along, it may be, by a little dry-dugged heifer, and rigged up only to drag some such light weight as a baby, a sack of meal or a pack of clothes and bedding." And many were as badly off for provisions. Before the expiration of the three weeks spent at Sugar Creek, "eight hundred men reported themselves in camp without a fortnight's provisions, notwithstanding the strict injunctions of President Young not to undertake the journey improperly provided with food and clothing.

But even if all the Saints had had the necessary outfit, there would still be found hindrances to the progress of the companies in the difficulty which they had in providing food for their horses and cattle. Time and again, during the earlier portions of their march, they were compelled to send to the settlements for grain. Oftentimes, however, the wagons returned empty, in which event the animals would have to live off the bark and branches of the trees. In consequence, they became very thin, so thin, in fact, that they could scarcely drag along the vehicles to which they were hitched. To make things worse, the roads were bad most of the way. Often they were quite impassable on account of the rain and the spring freshets. Wagons were therefore always breaking down, and this meant a delay for repairs. Sometimes they became stuck in the mud, which necessitated a doubling up of teams. The company was considered as having made remarkable progress if it had gone fifteen miles in a day; for oftener it made only five or six, and sometimes only a single mile. And so it was from day to day, until the grass appeared and the bad weather ceased.

The hardships endured by those who participated in this singular movement of a people, have often been described—

at least, in part; for the full story no mortal tongue will ever tell.

Personal inconvenience, certainly, was to be expected in the removal of a small number of men and women and children under any circumstances, much more so in the moving of an immense multitude under the conditions surrounding the Saints at this time. Most of them had been used to comfortable homes and pleasant environments, many to the refinements and luxuries of life. To be compelled, therefore, to ride in a lumbering wagon or cart all day, or, it may be, to walk by its side, mile after mile, in order to lighten the load or to urge the jaded team along over muddy or frozen roads; to sleep in tents or even in the open air in the most disagreeable season of the year, when, perhaps, the clothes worn during the day in a heavy and continuous rain would be frozen stiff next morning; and to do this day after day for months, and then with no prospect that there would be a material change for the better,—this was not to be regarded as the most pleasant thing for the contemplation of those who were taking part in it. The romance of the situation would not certainly be enhanced by these work-a-day details.

Had this been all, however, those days would not so frequently be referred to as ones which tried the soul's mettle. They were times of extreme distress, sorrow, and suffering, not to speak of hardship and privation. These began as soon as the people had left their homes at Nauvoo. While they were encamped on Sugar Creek they got a foretaste of what to expect. The cold was intense, the thermometer having dropped to twenty degrees below zero. And under these circumstances nine wives experienced the feelings of mingled agony and joy of child-birth. We have no record of any one having suffered for actual want of food; but long before the first companies reached their immediate destination, they were compelled to partake of it very sparingly. But there

was in store for some families something far worse than this hardship in which all shared alike. Joseph the Prophet, when, in vision, he saw the place to which the Saints were to be driven by their enemies, had exclaimed, "Oh the dead that will lie between here and there!" And so it was. Many were called upon to lament the death of a father or mother, a husband or wife, a brother or sister. Mrs. Orson Spencer, whose husband was then on a mission to England, was one of the earliest victims; and her motherless children were taken care of by those who could little afford the addition thus made to their household. And others suffered likewise, especially in the later companies. We shall see presently that death was so common after the Saints had temporarily located themselves that the customary burial services were dispensed with.

But, as already remarked, it must not be supposed that hardship and suffering were the only lot of these homeless wanderers.

There was a cheerfulness on every face that the people in the settlements through which they passed in the earlier parts of their journey, were unable to comprehend. Of an evening when the weather had not proved unusually disagreeable during the day, and while they were waiting around their camp fires for the trumpet to sound the note for prayers and bed time, jokes, conundrums, and stories would bring on smiles and laughter. Sometimes the cares of the day would be laid aside in the Virginia reel or the customary "round dance." For these "Mormon" pilgrims had not forgotten to bring with them their musical instruments, notwithstanding their more pressing need of life's necessaries, the more material things. Pitt's brass band frequently discoursed sweet or martial strains along the way, and even the small towns through which they passed were eager to invite this company of musicians to play for them. Moreover, the

songs of Zion, sometimes composed for the occasion, dispelled the gloom that would otherwise have settled down on the camp. Two of these written by the young poet ElizaR. Snow Smith, may be specially referred to as illustrating the extreme buoyancy of soul possessed by these outcast "Mormons."

Although in woods and tents we dwell,
Shout! shout! O Camp of Israel:
No "Christian" mobs on earth can bind
Our thoughts, or steal our peace of mind,

she sings in the first month of the journey when the difficulties were greatest. And a little later she cries:

Lo, a mighty host of Jacob,
Tented on the western shore
Of the noble Mississippi,
They had crossed to cross no more.
At the last day-dawn of winter,
Bound with frost and wrapped in snow;
Hark! the cry is "Onward, onward!
Camp of Israel, rise and go."

Such was the general spirit of cheerfulness that prevailed in the camps of the Saints during this part of their journey westward—a condition which will amply justify the title of the present chapter. Amid all their distress, they were buoyed up by the peace which passeth understanding and which man cannot give nor take away.

From March, when the first companies left Sugar Creek, till late in the fall, trains of "Mormon" emigrants might be seen on the road to the Missouri. During the earlier months, of course, the greatest number were on the move. Then, the line of wagons was almost continuous between the two rivers. Amos Fielding, who returned to Nauvoo in the latter part of June, counted nine hundred wagons in three days. And President Young, while on his way to Mount

Pisgah in the following month counted eight hundred between that point and Council Bluffs. But there were companies on the road to the West till very late in the Autumn.

Of one of these we may speak more particularly,—the unfortunate "remnants" left at Nauvoo till a convenient time could be found at which to take them west. They numbered between six and seven hundred souls in all. Of their cruel expulsion from their beautiful city we have already spoken. Their condition on the Iowa bank of the Mississippi was truly pitiable, in direct consequence of the inhumanity they had suffered at the hands of so-called Christian men. Thomas L. Kane had just crossed the river after having spent a few hours in the now deserted "Mormon" town, when suddenly he came upon "a crowd of several hundred human creatures" among "the docks and rushes, sheltered only by the darkness, without roof between them and the sky." But we will let him tell the whole story, for he was an eye-witness to what he relates.

"Passing these on my way to the light, I found it came from a tallow candle, in a paper funnel shade, such as is used by street vendors of apples and peanuts, and which, flaring and guttering away in the bleak air off the water, shone flickeringly on the emanciated features of a man in the last stage of a bilious, remittent fever. They had done their best for him. Over his head was something like a tent, made of a sheet or two, and he rested on a but partially ripped open old straw mattress, with a hair sofa cushion under his head for a pillow. His gaping jaw and glazing eye told how short a time he would monopolize these luxuries; though a seemingly bewildered and excited person, who might have been his wife, seemed to find hope in occasionally forcing him to swallow awkwardly-measured sips of the tepid river water, from a burned and battered bitter-smelling tin coffee-pot. Those who knew better had furnished the apothecary he

needed. A toothless old bald-head, whose manner had the repulsive dullness of a man familiar with death scenes—he, so long as I remained, numbled in the patient's ear a monotonous and melancholy prayer, between the pauses of which I heard the hiccup and sobbing of two little girls, who were sitting upon a piece of driftwood outside.

"Dreadful, indeed, was the suffering of these forsaken beings; bowed and cramped by cold and sunburn, alternating as each weary day and night dragged on, they were, almost all of them, the crippled victims of disease. They were there because they had no homes, nor hospitals, nor poorhouse, nor friends to offer them any. They could not satisfy the feeble cravings of their sick; they had not bread to quiet the fractious hunger-cries of their children. Mothers and babes, daughters and grandparents, all of them alike, were bivouacked in tatters, wanting even covering to comfort those whom the sick shiver of fever was searching to the marrow.

"These were Mormons, famishing in Lee county, Iowa, in the fourth week of the month of September, in the year of our Lord 1846 . . . . And those who had stopped their plows, who had silenced their hammers, their axes, their shuttles and their work-shop wheels; those who had put out their fires, who had eaten their food, spoiled their orchards, and trampled under foot their thousands of acres of unharvested bread; these were the keepers of their dwellings, the carousers of their Temple, whose drunken riot insulted the ears of their dying."

Elder Bullock, who was a member of this "Poor Camp," thus describes a night spent under these circumstances: "On Monday, September 23, while in my wagon on the slough opposite Nauvoo, a most tremendous thunderstorm passed over, which drenched everything we had. Not a dry thing left us—the bed a pool of water, my wife and mother-in-law

lading it out by basinfuls, and I in a burning fever and insensible, with all my hair shorn off to cure me of my disease. A poor woman stood among the bushes, wrapping her cloak around her three little orphan children, to shield them from the storm as well as she could." Here it was, and under these heart-rending conditions, that a countless host of quails dropped into camp, and were so tame that they could easily be caught by the hands of these famishing people—a circumstance which the Saints have attributed to God's overruling Providence.

Wagons were sent back by the other companies for these suffering and helpless "remnants." But their journey to Council Bluffs was a long and toilsome one; they endured more hardship than attended any company which had preceded them, on account of the bad physical condition in which they started out. It was, besides, very late in the fall when they reached the shelter of the main camps, and the cold weather and autumn rains had set in.

CHAPTER II

WAYSIDE STATIONS

The spectacle of this immense body of "Mormons"—a veritable wandering nation—pausing on its long pilgrimage to build temporary cities on the wild prairie land of western Iowa among savages and wolves, is so altogether unique and striking as to tempt one, out of sheer curiosity, to pass in review the life and conduct of civilized men and women under such a situation.

Garden Grove.

When, on the 24th of April, the advance company reached a point just beyond the Chariton, they determined to make a settlement, naming the place Garden Grove. During the seventeen days that they remained there—for they pushed on again another situation further west on the 11th of May—a large flourishing town sprang up like magic from the naked prairie. On the second day of their sojourn, three hundred and fifty-nine men, in response to a request by President Young, reported for labor. Accordingly, one hundred of them were directed to cut down and trim trees for logs and rails, ten to build fences, forty-eight to build houses, twelve to dig wells, ten to build bridges, and the rest to clear the land, plow the ground, and plant seed. In a few days, therefore, several hundred acres of land had been inclosed, crops put in, and houses erected. Then the main company pressed on their way, leaving only a few persons to guard their new possessions.

Before his departure from Garden Grove, however, President Young appointed Elders Samuel Bent, Aaron Johnson, and David Fullmer to preside, with instructions to divide the land among the needy Saints now on their way from Nauvoo, but not to permit any one to have more than he could till; to preach tithing so that the sick and otherwise helpless might be properly cared for, and, finally, to see that there was no unnecessary waste in harvesting and housing the crops.

Mount Pisgah.

While the vanguard of Zion's Camp were thus employed, Apostle Parley P. Pratt and a few others were instructed to go farther west along the intended route, for the purpose of choosing another situation for a settlement. "Riding out about three or four miles through beautiful prairies," says Parley's *Autobiography,* after they had gone thirty-odd miles from Garden Grove, "I came suddenly to some round and sloping hills, grassy and crowned with beautiful groves of timber; while alternate open groves and forests seemed blended in all the beauty and harmony of an English park. While beneath and beyond, on the West, rolled a main branch of the Grand river, with its rich bottoms of alternate forest and prairie. As I approached this lovely scenery, deer and wolves, startled at sight of men, abandoned the place and bounded away from sight amid the groves. Being pleased and excited over the varied beauty before me, I cried out, 'This is Mount Pisgah.'"

Here, also, when President Young and his company arrived, the men were set to work as they had been at the preceding place. More than a thousand acres of land were fenced and put under cultivation, and a large collection of log cabins erected. William Huntington, Ezra T. Benson, and Charles C. Rich were put in charge, with instructions

similar to those given the presiding authorities at Garden Grove. And on June 2d the advance company moved forward toward the Missouri, distant about ninety-five miles.

Presently came along the other companies of Israel. The poorer made their homes at these two way stations, while the rest went forward to join the first company. And there soon grew up in this place, too, a perfect ant-hill activity. More houses were erected as there was need, schools were established where the children might be instructed. But there was much poverty. Only those things that were easily movable had been brought from Nauvoo, and many of these had been bartered on the way for food. Then, also, the Saints were well-nigh broken down physically with their toilsome march. The atmosphere, too, especially in the lower parts of this place, was miasmatic. All these things together induced the ravages of disease, which cut down many a life. The President of the branch, Lorenzo Snow, was one of the first victims. He was stricken violently sick, but recovered through being baptized in a river. Indeed sickness was general; every family had some one down with the fever; and people were dying on every hand. So frequent were the deaths that the dead were buried with little or no ceremony. One woman—a Mrs. Gay—left a widow with three small children, had the wagon box cut up and made into a coffin, and in this rude box was her husband buried while she languished upon the sick bed unable to attend the burial. And so it went; many were not so well provided with means of performing the last sad rites. Sorrow and general lamentation were added to destitution and sickness.

With what melancholy pathos do we read of the devices resorted to in those days to induce forgetfulness of the general sorrow. The people were in a truly sad plight, being destitute, not only of teams and wagons to convey them to the next camping place, but also of food and clothing.

President Snow records the loss of his cow as an inconsolable grief. But the Saints at Mount Pisgah were fortunate in having a man at their head of great natural resource and determination. Choosing a couple of discreet, intelligent men—Elders Dana and Campbell—he sent them to Ohio and other parts of the country "to invite rich Gentiles to contribute to the wants of the Saints and assist them on their journey westward." This plan, though it was generally regarded as wild and visionary, succeeded admirably; for the brethren returned with about six hundred dollars. Parties were held at various places, as well as the regular meetings of the Saints.

One of these parties, held at President Snow's home, may be described. The house was a log structure fifteen by thirty feet, with dirt floor and roof, and a chimney, "of modest hight," in one end "made of turf cut from the bosom of mother earth," for rock was not easily obtainable at Mount Pisgah. The floor, on this occasion, was carpeted with a thin layer of straw, the walls draped with white sheets "drawn from featherless beds."* The "hall" was lighted by gay chandeliers made of hollowed turnips with candles in, and nailed here and there upon the walls. The evening's entertainment, interrupted long enough for the guests to partake of a dish of succotash, consisted of songs, recitations, toasts, conundrums, and exhortations; after which the crowd went home feeling happy and full of praise for the ingenuity of the host and hostess.

Winter Quarters.

The main camp of this exiled nation, however, was at Winter Quarters, on the west bank of the Missouri. When the

*Most of the feather beds in the camp, as well as other articles of luxury, had been traded on the way for food and clothing.

first company reached the river they encamped close to the water, but moved back, in a day or two, occupying some bluffs, at which the Indians were wont to hold their councils. They could thus better guard themselves and their cattle from the red men. But when it was known that the march westward would have to be postponed till the next summer, ferries were built and the camp moved across the river to a beautiful situation on the bottoms. It was pretty well along in the summer when this occurred.

The houses, of course, were mostly of logs, like those at the other two settlements. We say *mostly* because some of them were "dug-outs," that is, holes dug in the hillside and roofed over. But these were afterwards abandoned upon the advice of President Young on account of the occupants being more liable to exposure to disease, there than in places wholly above ground. A fortification was built round the town; a grist mill was erected; a log tabernacle put up; and schools established. Much of this work was done, singularly enough, to furnish employment to the brethren; for at longest the place would be occupied only a few years.

That winter—1845-6—was a hard one for the Saints, not only at Garden Grove and Mount Pisgah, but also at Winter Quarters. A meagre diet induced scurvy or black-leg; "the limbs would swell, become black, and the flesh be very sore." This was cured chiefly by potatoes which had been brought from Missouri, and by horse-radish which some one had found growing in an abandoned fort a little way from the town. But sickness was common. Food was comparatively dear. The great demand for articles of consumption by this great body of people had brought up prices in the Gentile settlements. Wheat, for instance, rose from about twenty cents a bushel to nearly fifty cents, corn from twelve to twenty-five cents, and other things in proportion. At first there was not a grist mill, and so all sorts of devices

were resorted to in order to grind the wheat. A coffee mill belonging to Alpheus Cutler did service for a number of families, as many, in fact, as could use it. In like manner, other articles of general usefulness were constantly employed by those who needed them, without thought of rental by the owner.

The Saints had to take great precautions in order to avoid a collision with the Indians. The President's policy was always to give these wild people fair treatment. He deprecated the practice so common among those who had dealings with the Indians, of shooting them down on the slightest provocation. In fact, nothing more was thought by most white men, of killing an Indian than of butchering some animal for food. But the "Mormon" leader advised his people not to deal harshly with the red men. "It is cheaper," he said, "to feed than to fight them." Accordingly, before the "Mormons" occupied Winter Quarters, the Indian agent had been consulted, and permission obtained to make temporary homes there. In addition to this, President Young kept on good terms with Big Elk, the chief of the Omaha tribes. Nevertheless, the Indians gave some trouble. Seeing that no benefit came to them from the "Mormon" occupation of their lands, but that, on the contrary, their wood was being burned and their game frightened away or killed, they undertook to help themselves to the stock belonging to the Saints. In this way a good many horses were lost. Big Elk, however, promised to restrain his tribe in this direction. Less fear, though, was experienced after the erection of the stockade around the town. These and other Indian depredations were partly the evil fruits of the conduct of those whites who had incited the red men to violence against the "Mormons" by pouring into their ears wicked tales about the alleged enmity of the latter for the Indians. So, at least, the Indians informed President Young.

Kanesville.

When, however, it was discovered that a settlement on the Missouri would have to be retained for several years, it was decided to move from Winter Quarters, which was on the Indian reservation, to the east side of the river. This was done in the fall of 1847, after a company had pushed its way westward to the great Salt Basin,and the place was called Kanesville, in honor of Col. Thomas L. Kane.

In January of the following year, a petition, numerously signed, was sent to the Iowa legislature,asking for an organization of a county. A postoffice was established, with Evan M. Greene as postmaster; and subsequently a county was formed, called Pottawattamie. Isaac Clark was judge of probate; George Coulson, Andrew H. Perkins, and David D. Yearsley, county commissioners; Thomas Burdick, county clerk; John D. Parker, sheriff; James Sloan, district clerk; Evan M. Greene, recorder and treasurer; and Jacob G. Bigler, William Snow, Levi Bracken, and Jonathan C. Wright, magistrates. This place now became a point of importance, and Winter Quarters was abandoned in the following spring.

It is at this time that we come again upon the political machinations of non-"Mormons." In Iowa, as in Illinois, the people were politically about equally divided into two parties. As soon,therefore, as it was found that the "Mormons" wanted a county organization, both parties pricked up their ears in great attention to the slightest wishes of the new comers. The Whigs were especially active in an endeavor to win over such a large body of voters. They delegated Messrs. Roberts and Lyon to lay before the "Mormons" the principles of Whigism. The former attended a caucus of the leading citizens of Kanesville and dilated eloquently upon the sufferings which the Saints had endured at the hands of "the greedy cormorants of Locofocoism." The Saints replied in a letter to the State Executive Commitee, hinting at their

reluctance to touch politics again, and detailing their tribulations on account partly of political jealousy. If, said they, in a preamble to some resolutions on the subject, "the Whigs of Iowa will lift up their hands toward heaven and swear by the Eternal Gods that they will use all their powers to repress mobocracy, insurrection, rebellion, and violence, in whatever form or from whatever source such might arise against the Latter-day Saints and the citizens of Iowa, even to the sacrifice of all their property, and their lives if need be, and that also a full share of representative and judicial authority shall be extended to the Saints, then we will pledge ourselves to unite our votes with those of the Iowa Whigs at the election

But we must say a word of the better side of this strange life which these strange people led in the wilderness. "What old persons call discomforts and discouraging mishaps," says Colonel Thomas L. Kane, speaking of the double interpretation, which all adventurers bear, "are the very elements to the young and sanguine of what they are willing to term fun. The Mormons took the young and hopeful side. They could make sport and frolic of their trials, and often turn right sharp suffering into right round laughter against themselves. I certainly heard more jests and 'Joe Millers' while in this Papillon camp than I am likely to hear in all the remainder of my days." Elsewhere he disclaims for the "Mormons" any extemporizing of new versions of Robinson Crusoe, and adds that "it was a comfort to notice the readiness with which they turned their hands to wood-craft; some of them, though I believe these had generally been bred carpenters, wheelwrights, or more particularly boat-builders, quite outdoing the most notable *voyageurs* in the use of the ax. One of these would fell a tree, strip off its bark, cut and split up the trunk in piles of plank, scantling, or shingles; make posts, pins, poles—everything wanted almost of the branch-

es; and treat his toil, from first to last, with more sportive flourish than a school-boy whittling his shingle."

In all this, Pitt's brass band furnished some of the finest music. "It might be," continues Mr. Kane, when you were hunting a ford over the great Platte, the dreariest of all wild rivers, perplexed among the far-reaching sand bars, and curlew shallows of its shifting bed—the wind rising would bring you the first faint thought of a melody; and as you listened, borne down upon the gust that swept past you a cloud of the dry sifted sands, you recognized it—perhaps a home-loved theme of Henry Proch or Mendelssohn. Mendelssohn Bartholdy, away there in the Indian marches!"

By the year 1852, all these places—Garden Grove, Mount Pisgah, and Kanesville—had been almost entirely abandoned by the "Mormon" people.

Things Spiritual.

An important change occurred at this time in the quorum of apostles. It was the organization, from their ranks, of the First Presidency of the Church. Since the death of the Prophet Joseph the Twelve had acted as the presiding quorum; but now it was deemed best to organize the Presidency again. Accordingly, on the 5th of December, 1847, at the home of Orson Hyde, a council of the Apostles was held. There were present, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Pratt, Orson Hyde, Wilford Woodruff, Willard Richards, George A. Smith, Amasa Lyman, and Ezra T. Benson. The last named had been chosen in July of this year to occupy the place made vacant by John E. Page, who had been disfellowshiped by the quorum in January, 1846. Brigham Young was unanimously sustained President, and Heber C. Kimball and Willard Richards, his own selection, as counselors.

On the 27th of December a conference was held at Kanesville, continuing till the 29th. The new Presidency

was unanimously sustained; a high council for the east side was chosen and voted in; and other Church business transacted.

Nor was the missionary work permitted to suffer neglect. In July, 1846, Apostles Orson Hyde, Parley P. Pratt, and John Taylor were sent to England to regulate that mission, returning home in April of the following year. Other elders at various times during these few years were sent to that country and the various states of the Union. It is curious to note that during the year that the pioneer company was pushing its way over the prairies and mountains of the West, Dan Jones brought into the Church in Wales more than six hundred souls. The gathering was discontinued till after the location of a permanent home.

CHAPTER III

A RAM IN THE THICKET

The romantic episode of the "Mormon" Battalion is worthy of a place in a popular history of the Church partly because it shows what sacrifices these men were willing to undergo for their people, partly because it exhibits the loyalty of the Latter-day Saints to the American government at the most inopportune moment of their lives.

A Call to Arms.

In 1846 a war broke out with Mexico. A narrow strip of land bordering on that country was claimed by Texas, which the southern nation was unwilling to relinquish. President Polk had offered to buy it, but the spirited Mexicans turned the proposal away in the utmost scorn. Thereupon, the President ordered General Taylor, with four thousand men, to take possession of the disputed territory. Two battles with a Mexican army were fought at Palo Alto and at Resaca de la Palma, in which the latter were repulsed with heavy loss. Taylor then invaded Mexico, holding the northern part of that country; Kearny assumed control of New Mexico; and Fremont, with a small force, occupied California. The war lasted a year and a half, at the end of which the United States fell into possession of an enormous territory in western America, equal in area to Germany, France, and Spain added together. What is now Utah, Idaho, and part of Colorado was included in this ceded district.

To aid General Kearny in taking the West, additional forces were necessary. Now, the authorities at Washington,

knowing from various sources that the "Mormons" were on their way to California or Oregon, determined to make use of them to win the country. Accordingly, President Polk instructed Kearny to call five hundred of these people to his aid. At first the number proposed was one thousand, but later it was changed to five hundred. The General did so, and Captain Allen was delegated to Mount Pisgah to receive the volunteers.

Such is one view of the origin of the battalion. Unfortunately, however, there is another. Senator Thomas H. Benton, of Missouri, according to this second explanation, induced President Polk to issue this call, with the understanding that, if the "Mormons" did not respond—and the Senator professed to know that they would not—he might turn loose his Missouri war-dogs upon them, killing men, women, and children. For the truth of this, however, we do not vouch; but nothing is more certain than that Brigham Young and the leading brethren firmly believed the existence of such a plot, and they assure us that they had the most unquestionable evidence to ground their belief upon. And it must be confessed that even this butchery of a whole people indiscriminately was not likely to be beyond the desire-range of a mob that could perpetrate those horrible outrages we have already detailed, not excluding the apparently purposeless hounding of their victims into their Illinois home. The reader must not forget, however, that news of this diabolical scheme did not come to the ears of President Young and his people till after the battalion had gone.

When Captain Allen reached the "Mormon" camps at Pisgah and the Bluffs,and the brethren were called together, he counted off enthusaistically the numerous advantages that would come to them through this Federal generosity. For one thing, they might go to their destined home under the protection and at the expense of the national government

(alas, for the sad humor, many, too many of them did go *home!*); for another thing, they would receive seven dollars a month from the day they enlisted; and for still another, they might retain their arms when they were mustered out of service in that far-away land. The Captain, no doubt, was perfectly sincere. But the "Mormons"—those men and women who had several times been driven from their homes, if not at the request of the state, yet with the sanction of the state authorities, and were even now suffering unspeakable destitution and hardship as a direct consequence of these numerous drivings—these "Mormons," we urge, must be pardoned, if under these circumstances, they entertained suspicions concerning this governmental affection. But Brigham Young, with fine patriotism, begged them to make a distinction between the conduct of the states separately and the conduct of the states collectively. The nation, he said, was not responsible for their present outcast condition. So patriotism won the day, and Captain Allen got his five hundred men.

That the minds of these patriots might be distracted from the griefs of parting, an elaborate "send-off" was prepared, and everyone put on his cheeriest countenance. "The afternoon before their departure," says Colonel Kane, who was there, "was appropriated to a farewell ball; and a more merry dancing rout I have never seen, though the company went without refreshments, and the ball-room was of the most primitive. To the canto of debonair violins, the cheer of horns, the jingle of sleigh bells, and the jovial snoring of the tambourine, they did dance! None of your minuets or other mortuary processions of gentles in etiquette, tight shoes, and pinching gloves, but the spirited and scientific displays of our venerated and merry grandparents, who were not above following the fiddle to the Fox-chase Inn, or Gardens of Gray's Ferry. French fours, Copenhagen jigs, Vir-

ginia reels, and the like forgotten figures, and light feet, had it their own way from an early hour till after the sun had dipped behind the sharp sky-line of the Omaha hills. Silence was then called, and a well-cultivated mezzo-soprano voice, belonging to a young lady with a fair face and dark eyes, gave with quartette accompaniment a little song, the notes of which I have been unsuccessful in repeated efforts to obtain since—a version of the text, touching to all earthly wanderers:

" 'By the river of Babylon we sat down and wept.' "

Already, at a private council of the commissioned and the non-commissioned officers, their Prophet had given them some parting advice, and bestowed his farewell blessing. They must be true to their country, he said, and true to God. Not on a single occasion, he added prophetically, should they be required to shed human blood. They were to remember their prayers; to refrain from profanity, obscene language, and the improper use of Deity's name; to be strictly virtuous and cleanly; to treat all men with kindness, and never take that which did not belong to them, even from their worst enemies in time of war, if they could possibly avoid it.

Then they took up their line of march towards Fort Leavenworth, where they were to be supplied, tramping to the lively strains of Pitt's band, which accompanied them part way, while above them waved the Stars and Stripes. They passed St. Joseph marching to the tune of "The Girl I Left Behind Me."

Still in that five hundred there must have been many a sad heart. There were men whose wives and little children, except for the tender services of some good Samaritan, would not know where to turn for the next morsel of food; there were sons who were the only stay of aged and widowed mothers; and many of these loved ones had struggled heroically under the ravages of disease not to show unwonted

grief at the farewell. "This blow," writes one wife and mother, speaking of this melancholy parting from a husband that never returned, "entirely prostrated me. But I had just embarked upon my sea of troubles. Winter found me bed-ridden, destitute, in a wretched hovel which was built upon a hill-side; the season was one of constant rain; the situation of the hovel and its openness, gave free access to piercing winds, and water flowed over the dirt floor, converting it into mud two or three inches deep; no wood but what my little ones picked up around the fences, so green that it filled the room with smoke; the rain dropping and wetting the bed which I was powerless to leave; no relative to cheer or comfort me, a stranger away from all who ever loved me; my neighbors could do but little, their own troubles and destitution engrossing their time."

Surely, this was a supreme test of loyalty, alike for those who went and those who stayed at home!

Across the Continent.

Arrived at Fort Leavenworth, the soldiers obtained their muskets and provisions, and drew their pay. The fact that every man in the battalion could write his own name, was a cause of great surprise to the officers in charge; for only a few days before this, the Missouri volunteers had been there, and two men out of every three had to sign their names with a cross. Greater astonishment still was manifested when each one of the men, after making a generous contribution to aid Elders Hyde, Pratt, and Taylor on their missions, turned over all the rest except a few dollars to the brethren for his family and to help such of the migrating Saints as might need assistance. August 12th they left the fort on their long journey to the coast, by way of Santa Fe.

Their march to this place was interrupted by a great deal of sickness and many deaths. Among the first to fall

was Captain Allen, whom every man in the battalion had learned to love. Upon his death the command was usurped by a Lieutenant Smith, a fierce, unreasonable man, a non-"Mormon," who had joined them upon hearing of Allen's demise, much to the dissatisfaction of the battalion, who should have had Captain Hunt of their own number as their leader. To the forced marches together with the harsh conduct of Lieutenant Smith, and to the calomel and arsenic of an unfriendly, not to say hateful doctor named Sanderson, the survivors of that tedious march attribute most of their sufferings and the deaths of their companions between Fort Leavenworth and Santa Fe. Meanwhile, Captain Higgins had been despatched to Pueblo with the women of the battalion, who would, it was feared, prove a hindrance to the progress of the soldiers.

At Santa Fe Colonel Cooke assumed command, much to the relief of the troops, notwithstanding his reputation for rigorous discipline. Before starting on their journey again, all the sick—eighty-six in number—were sent to Winter Quarters at Pueblo under Captain Brown. Subsequently, fifty-five more, who had "come down" after leaving Santa Fe, were sent to Pueblo in charge of Captain Willis. This latter company had only six days' provisions, and no physician, to take them three hundred miles. Reduced thus to about three hundred and fifty, the battalion proceeded on its way to California. And what a journey that was! Towards the end of the march their shoes gave out, and they resorted to the most extraordinary makeshifts for foot-wear. One of these was to strip a piece of skin from the leg of an ox without cutting it lengthwise, which, slipped over the foot, served as a good moccasin. Their mules and oxen kept dropping down every now and then on that trying journey, and towards the last the men were hitched to the wagons. Now they fairly broiled under the tropic sun of the sandy

desert; now they were almost frozen under the frigid night-sky of the mountains. Their food, too, ran short. Most of the time they were on half rations. Toward the end they were driven to the last extremities, scraping off the wool from their saddle skirts, and boiling and eating the leather. They went without water for whole days at a time. A song composed by Levi W. Hancock, the camp musician and poet, preserves for us some of the grim pictures of that melancholy march.

"And when an ox is like to die,
The whole camp halts, and we lay by;
The greedy wolves and buzzards stay,
Expecting rations for the day.

"Our hardships reach their rough extremes,
When valiant men are roped with teams,
Hour after hour, and day after day,
To wear our strength and lives away."

But after each stanza came the hopeful refrain—

"How hard to starve and wear us out,
Upon this sandy, desert route!"

At last the weary and half-clad battalion reached the coast. They were congratulated by their leader, who declared that, though he had seen some dark days in his time, he had never even heard of anything like this journey. "History," he said, "may be searched in vain for an equal march of infantry. Half of it has been through a wilderness where nothing but savages or wild beasts are found, or deserts, where, for want of water, there is no living creature. There, with almost hopeless labor we have dug wells, which the future traveler will enjoy. Without a guide who had traveled them, we have ventured into trackless table-lands

where water was not found for several marches. With crowbar and pick and ax in hand, we have worked out way over mountains, which seemed to defy aught save the wild goat, and hewed a passage through a chasm of living rock more narrow than our wagons." And General Kearny, when he heard the details of the march, said with great earnestness: "Bonaparte crossed the Alps, but these men have crossed a continent!"

Opening the Gold-hills.

To describe their sojourn in the land of flowers is not necessary here. The months from the last of January, 1847, when they arrived at San Diego, to the 17th of July, when they were mustered out of service, they spent mostly in the pursuits of peace, digging wells, building houses, and teaching these arts to the Spaniards. But they did not fight. The nearest they came to taking on a warlike attitude was when John C. Fremont's men refused to deliver up public property and it appeared as if a civil war was imminent.

When their term of service expired, an effort was made to have them re-enlist. Eighty-one of them did so; but the rest began their homeward journey, taking a route that would bring them through the valley of the Great Salt Lake. On their way, however, they were met by a party from the Pioneers in the Rocky Mountains, with letters from their families, and the Church authorities. President Young advised as many as could do so to remain in California during the coming winter, in response to which about forty of the company turned back. The rest pursued their perilous journey to what is now Utah, finding there not only the pioneer company but also their comrades of the battalion who had spent the preceding winter at Pueblo.

It was some of those battalion boys that returned to California who were the discoverers of gold in that State. It

happened in this manner: Alexander Stephens, James S. Brown, James Barger, William Johnson, Azariah Smith, Henry W. Bigler, with some others not of the battalion, sought and obtained employment of a Mr. Sutter and a Mr. Marshall, digging a millrace. When it was finished water was turned into it, but afterwards taken out because of some washouts near the flume. Mr. Marshall went below to ascertain the effect of the wash, when his eye caught some yellow glittering metal. This was the first intimation of gold in the Gold State. "The 'Mormon' discharged soldiers," says the Battalion chronicler, "shook the bush, and friend Marshall, unexpectedly, caught the bird." But Californians have never been overly-anxious to acknowledge even this connection between their own Land of Flowers and the despised Bee Hive State.

In February, 1855, the "Mormon" Battalion held its first reunion in the social hall at Salt Lake City. During the progress of the entertainment they were addressed by Presidents Young, Kimball, and Grant, who spoke very highly of the sacrifices made by these men for the salvation of the Saints. A huge banner had been made for the occasion, on which were inscribed the words: "Mormon Battalion—the Ram in the Thicket."

CHAPTER IV

TO THE INLAND SEA

Having followed the fortunes of this moving nation from Nauvoo to Council Bluffs and observed their life in their temporary home in the wilderness, we have now to trace their history over the wild and desolate region lying between these places and their destination and also their strange ways in their desert abode. And first of their journey there.

The Pioneer Company.

No sooner had President Young arrived at Council Bluffs than he began to cast about him for means to accomplish the removal to the mountains. Realizing the gigantic labor and danger involved in transporting such an immense body of men, women, and children over an untraversed country of a thousand miles, he and his brethren decided to make temporary homes for the people at the places we have named and to despatch a select company to pioneer the way to their western home. For this purpose one hundred able-bodied men, well-provisioned and unencumbered by families, were to be chosen. They were to have twenty-five wagons and fifty yokes of oxen—every four men a wagon and a double team—each man two hundred and fifty pounds of flour with other necessary articles; the company to be amply provided with farming implements and seeds. It was the intention to have them go in the summer of '46, make a selection of a suitable location for the winter; some were to remain there so as to be on hand the following spring to put in crops, while others were to return to guide the remaining companies thither. But this excellent plan was not executed then on

account of the call for the battalion. The President, however, never lost track of the idea.

In the spring of '47, a company was formed to accomplish what the other was to be chosen for,except that the lateness of the season would prevent the putting in of crops that would be likely to mature. One hundred and forty-four men were selected—twelve times twelve,—though afterwards three women and two children were included in the numbr —the wives of President Young, his brother Lorenzo D., and Heber C. Kimball. They were well-provided with wagons, food for the journey, and farming tools—but, it seems, not so well as the other would have been. This company, which included seven of the apostles, left Elkhorn—twenty-seven miles beyond Winter Quarters—on the 15th of April.

Did Brigham Young know where he was taking this pioneer company? We have no absolutely positive answer to this question, but several things point to the fact that he did. One of these is the appearance of progress to a definite end in the company's march. No one who reads the details of this journey can fail to be impressed with this fact. Another is, that the Prophet Joseph, before his death, indicated that the objective point of the journey he was about to undertake was the Great Basin of the Rocky Mountains. And a third lies in the very definite inquiries President Young made of the trappers whom the company met on their way, as well as the remark he made when he first looked upon the valley of the Great Salt Lake.

It is not necessary for us to follow in much detail this memorable journey. Leaving the Elkhorn on April 15th, they followed, for hundreds of miles, the meanderings of the North Platte, through Nebraska and Wyoming, keeping on the north side of this stream in order to avoid, as much as possible, any contact with parties of their old-time enemies, the Missourians, who might be on their way to Oregon;

thence touching Fort Laramie, an old trading post, Red Buttes, Independence Rock, Devil's Gate, Little and Big Sandy, and Fort Bridger, into Echo canyon and through Emigration into the valley of the Salt Lake. Their trail, for many a mile, is now marked by the line of the Union Pacific railroad. At different times they met Charles Beaumont, Moses Harris, and James Bridger, trappers and traders, of whom they obtained much valuable information regarding the country ahead. Harris and Bridger drew extremely dark pictures of the Salt Lake valley, the latter being willing, he said, to give one thousand dollars for the first bushel of corn raised there; though they spoke very highly of a valley northward called Cache. When the pioneers reached the region of the Black Hills, their supply of provisions threatened to give out; but some Missourian emigrants renewed it in return for being ferried over the Platte at this point. The personnel of the company, too, underwent some change. They had barely started when one man took sick, and returned. Once, seventeen Mississippi Saints joined them; later four men out of the original number were sent back to guide a body of Saints from that State to the trail of the pioneers; on another occasion, nine men were left to ferry the next company across the river; and subsequently thirteen of the battalion boys, from Pueblo, caught up with them. Their number, after these deductions and additions, was one hundred and sixty-five.

Towards the end of the journey, the company became divided. The vanguard was headed by Orson Pratt, making the first impressions of a wagon road on the hitherto unmarked country. The last company included President Young, who was suffering from mountain fever. The pioneers, therefore, entered the valley at different times, Orson Pratt's party being the first,making their descent on the 22nd of July, the President's on the 24th. On the day before this

—the 23rd—President Young, reclining in Elder Woodruff's carriage, requested the vehicle to be turned that he might have, from an eminence, a view of the valley. This was done. Long and earnestly these two pioneers gazed upon the wild, barren scene spread out before them, and the President said finally—

"Enough. This is the place. Drive on!"

He had seen this place in vision, and "many things of the future concerning the valley." It was here he had seen "the tent settling down from heaven and resting." "Here is the place," said a voice at the time, "where my people Israel shall pitch their tents."

Other Companies.

From this time on till the railroad was established, trains of emigrant wagons might be seen every summer crossing the plains to the mountain of the Lord's house.

The first to enter the valley, after the pioneer company, was the detachment of the "Mormon" battalion, which had been sent, sick, to winter quarters at Pueblo. Having remained there over winter, they now started west towards California, where they expected to be mustered out of service, taking the old Oregon trail, under the leadership of Captain Brown. Subsequently, however, they changed their mind about going to California, and entered the Valley a few days after the pioneers, thus increasing the population there to about four hundred souls.

A second emigrating company left the Elkhorn on the 19th of June, reaching Salt Lake Valley in the fall. It numbered about two thousand persons, men, women, and children, in five hundred and sixty wagons. They brought with them fully five thousand head of cattle. In this company were Apostles Parley P. Pratt and John Taylor, Eliza R. Snow, Father John Smith, Lorin Farr, George Q. Cannon,

the Thatchers, the Bennions, and the Nebekers, Jedediah M. Grant, and A. O. Smoot.

Meantime, about half the pioneer company were returning to the Missouri river to prepare for further immigration to the Valley in the spring.

In 1848, several large companies left Winter Quarters for the new home. One under President Young numbered more than twelve hundred, another under Heber C. Kimball numbered nearly seven hundred, and still another under Willard Richards numbered more than five hundred—twenty-four hundred and seventeen souls in all, with seven hundred and ninety-two wagons and immense herds of cattle and horses. Along with this company went Daniel H. Wells, who had joined the Church since the Propht's death and cast his lot with the unfortunates; Lorenzo Snow, Franklin D. Richards, John Smith, Joseph F. Smith, then a boy of nine years, with his widowed mother, Newel K. Whitney, and Horace S. Eldredge. The population of the Valley was now swelled to between four and five thousand.

Other large companies came each year following. Immigration to Utah was facilitated by the organization, in 1849, of what was known as the Perpetual Emigration Fund, consisting originally of five thousand dollars, which was lent to the needy Saints both on the frontier and in England. In that country alone there were at least thirty thousand who desired to come to America, but many of whom were financially unable to do so. Means borrowed from this fund put them in a position to emigrate, and thus the deserts of the West were peopled with what Dickens called the flower of his own country.

Of one company of emigrants it is necessary to speak in some detail—the handcart company of '56. With a view to reducing the expense of crossing the plains, President Young conceived the idea of making the journey with handcarts.

The project was very popular in England, and many gave up their employment before definite arrangements had been made for their passage over the sea. And so the president of the European mission preferred to let them make the trip rather than allow them to take the chances of their obtaining positions in England. Most of them probably would have found their way to the inevitable and much-dreaded workhouse. Two companies of five hundred persons each left the frontiers early in June, arriving safely, for the most part, at their destination, though many were aged and sickly and had walked the entire distance dragging or pushing loaded handcarts. On the 2d of October a third company reached Salt Lake in tolerable condition, having left Iowa City in the latter part of June.

Two other companies followed, and it was these that have caused the name handcart company to be sent down the years a synonym of agony and anguish. One had left the City of Iowa on the 15th of July, the other had crossed the Missouri on the 22d of the month following. Under ordinary conditions, however, they would have reached the Valley before snowfall. But the winter of '56 set in unusually early. The first party reached the city on the 9th of November, the second on the 1st of December. But the snow and cold had long since impeded their progress, resulting in great suffering and many deaths. Women and children, as well as men, were compelled to wade the streams in the bitter cold; and to lie out nights without sufficient covering. Their food gave out, too. Many died on the way. As soon as it was discovered in Salt Lake City that an early winter would set in, wagon-loads of provisions, clothing, and bedding were sent out by the Presidency of the Church to meet them,and everything within human possibility was done to relieve their intense suffering. Nothing expresses more strongly, though pathetically, how great was this suffering than the manner

in which the relieving party were received. On first perceiving, about sundown, that some wagons were approaching from the direction of the Valley, all who could, turned out to the welcome. Women fell upon the newly arrived brethren, showering kisses upon them; children danced in gladness, not knowing why; strong men wept uncontrollably, and were dumb from sheer over-joy. It was the same in the second camp. Presently all were fed and tucked warmly away in wagons, and in this manner they arrived at their destination.

Some Characteristics of this Migration.

It remains for us in this section to describe those interesting journeys, taking no particular one but several combined, though nearly every incident and phase was many times duplicated.

Strangers, upon first coming in contact with "Mormonism" invariably remark upon their inevitable trait of organizing every collective effort into concerted units. Nothing reveals this characteristic better than these migrations of the "Mormons" westward. The companies were never large enough to be unwieldy. Each was divided into hundreds, fifties, and tens, with an officer over each division. A bugle note gave the signal for rising and retiring, for prayer, for meals, and for beginning and ending each day's march. The nights were usually divided into two watches. Traveling, in times of peace, two wagons abreast, in times of danger, four abreast, and then every man with his gun ready for action, the 'Mormons" could never be much surprised by Indian attacks.

They made their own roads as they went. As we have seen they purposely avoided the regular well-beaten road of western emigrants. All fordable streams they crossed without much trouble. Every now and then, however, they had

to stop long enough to make a bridge, and where the stream—such, for instance, as the Platte river—was too wide to be bridged, they used their leather boat or made a ferry. Log canoes were soon made and covered with split poles, to convey the wagons from one bank to another. The cattle and horses were forced to swim these larger streams. Of this last interesting phase of this strange life, Colonel Kane has given us a graphic picture. A herd of thirty thousand cattle is to be got across the Missouri at a point where it is nearly a mile and a half wide, owing to a heavy freshet. "They were gathered in little troops on the shore, and driven forward till they lost their footing. As they turned their heads to return, they encountered the combined opposition of a clamorous crowd of bystanders, vieing with each other in the pungent administration of inhospitable affront. Then rose their hub-bub; their geeing, and whoaing, and hawing; their yelling, and yelping, and screaming; their hooting, and hissing, and pelting. The rearmost steers would hesitate to brave such a rebuff; halting, they would impede the return of the outermost; they all would waver; wavering for a moment, the current would sweep them together downward. At this juncture a fearless youngster, climbing upon some brave bull in the front rank, would urge him boldly forth into the stream; the rest then surely followed; a few moments saw them struggling in mid current; a few more, and they were safely landed on the opposite shore. The driver's was the sought-after post of honor here; and sometimes, when repeated failures have urged them to emulation, I have seen the youths, in stepping from back to back of the struggling monsters, or swimming in among their battling hoofs, display feats of address and hardihood that would have made Franconi's of the Madrid bull-ring vibrate with bravos of applause."

The "Mormons" seem not to have been in very great

danger from the Lamanites. These wild roamers of the forest appear early to have drawn a distinction between the "Mormon" and the ordinary Gentile white. As already stated, it was a common opinion in those days that there could be no more wrong in killing Indians than there was in slaying a lower animal. But this idea was not shared by the Saints. On the contrary, they looked upon the life of a red man as sacred as the white man's. And the savage, in return, viewed the "Mormon" as his fellow-sufferer at the hands of the Eastern Gentiles, both having been forcibly expelled to the West. Nevertheless, the companies of Saints suffered from the depredations of the Indians. Sometimes, large bands of these wild people would come to their camps begging powder and trinkets in compensation for the privilege of passing through their lands. Sometimes, however, they would resort to all kinds of devices, such, for instance, as shaking a buffalo robe or blanket within sight of the "Mormon" cattle, in order to create a stampede. In this and other ways the Saints lost many animals.

An entirely unique feature of these now interesting journeys was the frequent sight of great herds of buffalo. The presence of these animals was usually indicated by immense clouds of dust in the rear. Then the emigrants prepared themselves and their stock against being moved out of their places. Next a strange roaring noise would be noticed, which gradually increased as the herd approached, till it would be both deafening and frightful. Presently, tens of thousands of these wild animals would gallop awkwardly by, their heads down and tails in the air. Sometimes, when meat was needed, but never unless it was needed, the brethren would shoot at them as they passed. Whenever the bullet struck a vital spot, all was well; but when it struck some other part of the huge body, the enraged bison would very likely stop in its clumsy career and make an angry dash at

the first strange object in sight. Sometimes, too, these buffalo herds had a disastrous effect on the domestic animals—oxen, cows, and horses; and there would be a general stampede. But on the whole this was an enjoyable spectacle, a herd of buffalo on the run.

Altogether the most singular thing, however, connected with these numerous pioneer migrations is the manner of life led by the people themselves, their bustling energy, and their endless contrivances to utilize every opportunity or event. The "Mormons" never forgot their simple devotions, or laid by their religion till the next convenient time to take it up. Prayers were offered every morning and evening—gratitude for past favors, petitions for continued blessings. Cursing and swearing was rarely if ever heard in their camps, nor the taking of God's name in vain, nor an obscene jest or story. Colonel Kane names it as a remarkable thing (and it was) that in the hours and hours that he watched the sport at the ferry side of the cattle crossing the Missouri, he had "never heard an oath or the language of a quarrel, or knew it to provoke the least sign of ill-feeling." The presiding officers were uniformly kind, the people as a rule obedient, uncomplaining, self-sacrificing. Most of those who were at all able to do so walked every step of the one thousand miles, sometimes, towards the end, without shoes and stockings and little enough other clothing. As soon as a suitable camping place had been found, which was usually on the bank of some stream, the wagons would be drawn up in a circle, the tongues being on the outer side and the front wheels of one locked to the hind wheels of another. Two openings at opposite points, which were carefully guarded at night, furnished ample egress and entrance. Sometimes, however, the bank of the creek or river, if serviceable, was made use of as one side of a half-circle. In this whole or semi-circle the work-cattle were guarded, the camps being on the outside.

The cobbler, the wheelwright, the harnessmaker would take advantage of the rest in order to repair some article. In the evening by the camp-fires, men, women, and children would sit in groups and tell stories, crack jokes, and sing the songs of Zion. There was no traveling on Sunday, for the Saints were genuine Israelites in their observance of the Sabbath. Services were held, and some of the leading elders gave such counsel as was suggested by their present situation. Moreover, one day in the week was usually given up to laundry work. Fires would be kindled here and there; children sent for wood to replenish them; tubs, washboards, and other necessary articles used in this process would be dragged from their recesses in the wagons; posts fixed in the ground, if there were not bushes enough, and lines stretched from one to another; and everyone doing something, if it was only singing a lively song or whistling a merry tune to keep up the spirits of the camp. The jolting of the wagons, as we have seen, was utilized to churn the cream into butter, and William Clayton, on the pioneer journey, invented an odometer, which served to measure accurately the distance passed. One gunsmith is said to have invented a species of repeating rifle on this exodus. Every now and then on the road, the first company contrived to leave messages to their successors; the peeled side of a tree, or the broad white surface of a buffalo head answering the purpose as well as the best paper and pencil.

Such, given in bare outline, is the famous and never-to-be-forgotten journey of the "Mormon" pioneer companies from the frontiers of eastern civilization into the heart of the great American desert.

PART FIFTH

The Mountain of the Lord's House

CHAPTER I

A BATTLE WITH THE SOIL

In the present chapter we shall detail in convenient groups the principal events, material and spiritual, which lie between the years 1847 and 1857.

The New Home.

Whatever may be the opinion of tourists of our own day respecting the patch of verdure lying between the "cold and barren peaks" of Colorado on the east and the shifting sands of Nevada on the west, surely that was no paradise of the gods upon which the weary eyes of the "Mormon" pilgrims rested on that memorable July day as they stood on the summit of the eastern ridge overlooking the Valley of the great Salt Lake. It almost answered to that famous picture of the whole West which the great Webster drew for the Senate some years before this: a vast, worthless area, a region of savages and wild beasts, of deserts, of whirlwinds of dust, of cactus and prairie dogs, of endless mountain ranges, impenetrable, and covered to their very base with eternal snow. At all events, it was a treeless waste, a thirsty alkali desert, wholly given up to the snake, the lizard, and the cricket-eating Indian. No marvel that some of the women of the pioneer company were inconsolable at the prospect it offered,

and expressed a desire to continue the journey for another thousand miles!

Still, the company in the main were pleased; not indeed with what the natural eye beheld, but with what was visible only to the spiritual organ. It offered them isolation from the cruel arm of the persecutor. Here they could be alone with their own laws and rulers; here they would be the "old settlers," and if, according to the principles that prevailed in the lands where they came from, there was to be any driving, they would not be the driven. That the place was now desolate, was no evidence that, under their transforming hand, guided by the Holy Spirit, it might not become a place of beauty and loveliness. Was not the marshland of Commerce dreary and repulsive? And yet had it not sprung up in a few years into a city of which any community might be proud? What, in the language of Apostle Woodruff at this very time, was to hinder "the house of God" from being "established in the mountains, and exalted above the hills," and these valleys from being "converted into orchards, vineyards, and fruitful fields, cities erected in the name of the Lord, and the standard of Zion unfurled for the gathering of the nations?" President Young expressed his "entire satisfaction at the appearance of the valley as a resting place for the Saints." Shortly after this, he said, 'If the Gentiles will let us alone for ten years, I'll ask no odds of them."

Anti-"Mormon" writers have never ceased to point, with visible triumph, to these hopeful feelings, and especially to this sentence of Brigham Young's, as proof that it was the intention of the "Mormons" to set up a government of their own and assume a defiant attitude towards the nation. But, as our own writers have pointed out, such a view is wholly irreconcilable with the general conduct of the President and his people. That there were both opportunity and motives at hand to do this, is undeniable. Utah was then a part of

Mexican territory, and the United States had ever shown and friendship for the "Mormons." It is perfectly clear, also, that the inhabitants of Utah, especially those who had lived in Missouri and Illinois, hated the Missourian with genuine hatred; as indeed they had good reason to do. Anti-'Mormons" are therefore right enough in the statement that it was only natural that the Saints should wish to break away entirely from Union control, but they are wrong in attributing these sentiments to the early "Mormons." The feelings are only those that would have been entertained by themselves in like circumstances. The sentiments entertained by the Saints for the freest government in the world with a Constitution inspired of heaven, were too deep-rooted to be shaken by Missouri mobs or even by the cold passivity of the national government. How otherwise can we explain the hoisting of the stars and stripes on Ensign peak by the pioneers, and their appeal, oftentimes repeated,for admission into the Union?

Material Growth.

Very naturally, the first steps taken by the pioneers of '47 were those looking towards an increase of food supplies and making themselves comfortable for the winter. They were many hundred miles from the nearest habitation, and it would be impossible to return there every now and then when food was needed. It was like being on a ship in case of fire—there was no going out at the back door.

The first company, upon reaching a suitable spot in the Valley began plowing. This was on the 22nd of July. Finding that the soil was dry and hard, they turned water upon it from the creek, and so commenced the great system of irrigation that was to reclaim the American desert. On the Monday following they planted several acres of potatoes, corn, peas, and other vegetables. But the crops were destined nev-

er to mature. Later, a log fort was built on the Sixth ward square, a series of log and adobe cabins in the form of a square, entirely closed. The highest wall was on the outside, with no doors or windows—these being on the other side,—but only port holes, which might be useful in case of Indian attacks. The roof, made of boards or split poles covered with brush and earth, all sloped towards the inside of the fort. Inexperience had made them so flat that the rain and melting snow leaked through upon the beds, tables, and stoves. Frequently, therefore, during the wet season, the women might be seen at the cook stove holding over them an umbrella, to keep the rain off, or perhaps someone reclining or lying in bed under this unique shelter. But even this luxury was rare, as umbrellas were scarce. A sort of clay mixed with water formed a whitewash "only inferior to lime," but it would not hold the water so well as common mud. Provisions were carefully husbanded, for they were certain to give out before harvest time. Once, on New Year's, Apostle Taylor gave a dancing party—having first obtained permission of the stake president—at which, in addition to a "spread" contributed to by every one that came—much against the host's feelings, however—there were speeches grave and gay. Clothing also became threadbare that winter, and the skins of animals were utilized.

One of the brethren who spent this winter in the valley records his pride upon coming into possession of a pair of elk-skin trousers. "All is quiet, stillness," wrote Apostle Parley P. Pratt to Orson Hyde at Kanesville of the first year in the Valley. "No elections, no reports, no murders, no war in our little world. The legislation of our high council, the decision of some court or bishop, meeting, a dance, a visit, an exploring tour, an arrival of a party of trappers and traders, a Mexican caravan, a party arrived from the Pacific, from the States, from Forts Hall or Bridger, a visit of Indians, or

perhaps a mail from the distant world once or twice a year, is all that breaks upon the monotony of our peaceful and busy life. The drum has beat, to be sure, but it was mingled with merry making, or its martial sound was rather to remind us that war had been among the nations." This first winter was fortunately an unusual one, the mildest that Utah has ever seen.

Spring opened with bright prospects for the colony of Saints. During winter there had been plowing every now and then. In February, farmwork was begun in real earnest. A line of fencing twelve miles long had been constructed, beginning at a point of the mountain just below the warm springs extending through what is now the Seventeenth ward to the Old Fort and thence past Mill Creek to the mountains, and enclosing five thousand acres of land. All this ground was put under cultivation, the women and children aiding in the work. Meantime, food was running short, and likewise clothing. Sego and thistle roots were therefore called into requisition. The tops of the thistle made good greens and furnished the necessary bulk if not the nutriment; for, as one of those who lived through it all declares, with grim humor, "to have the stomach full was an agreeable sensation, even if the contents were only thistle tops." A number of families, moreover, had lost some of their cows, or it might be those they had were dry. The common dress in those days, for men and women alike, was bed-ticking, burlap, or the skins of animals. Contrasting, however, with this primitive apparel was an occasional silken gown worn in the kitchen, which had been put on as a last resort.

In this manner the summer wore on. But their troubles were by no means ended. It seemed, indeed, as if the "hope" expressed in the thirteenth article of their faith were destined to receive literal fulfillment, and they were fated really "to endure all things." For no sooner had the wheat begun

to cover the fields with verdure, and they to look forward hopefully to a rich harvest than great clouds of crickets, like one of Egypt's plagues, descended from the hills to destroy their crops. In vain did men, women, and children exert themselves to turn aside or destroy the pests. On they came with ever increasing numbers, eating, as they did so, every green thing before them, leaving behind what bore the appearance of a burnt prairie. At last the people gave up in despair. They would surely starve next winter. And they thought of despatching a messenger to President Young imploring him to turn back with his companies. Nor were these feelings diminished when, one morning at dawn, they beheld uncounted hosts of sea gulls descending upon their fields from the lake islands. "Doubtless," they thought, "what the locusts will not destroy the fowls will." But the gulls proceeded, strangely enough, to destroy, not the grain, but the crickets. All day they gorged upon the pests, flew to the lake shore to disgorge, and back to the fields to gorge again, till nothing was left of the crickets; and thus half the corps were saved. A strange interposition of divine love the Saints have always regarded it, like the feeding of the starved Israelites in the wilderness and the descent of the quails in the camps of modern Israel on Mississippi's banks!

In the winter of 1848-9, the people in the Valley were put on rations. It was found soon after the harvest of '48 that, counting till the 5th of the following July, there would be three-fourths pounds of flour a day for each person. For the rest, they managed as they had done before harvest—roots and herbs were again put to use. And their clothing was of practically the same texture and variety as in the previous year.

While the Saints were living in this primitive manner, with little food and clothing, there occurred a strange incident, which unites in a way peculiar to the "Mormons" the

temporal and the spiritual. One Sabbath day at a public meeting, President Kimball uttered a remarkable prophecy, "Brethren," he said, after referring to their poverty, "it will be but a little while before you shall have food and raiment in abundance, and shall buy it cheaper than it can be bought in the city of St. Louis!" Great was the astonishment of the brethren. "I don't believe a word of it!" frankly confessed Charles C. Rich. Heber himself, after he sat down and "the Spirit had gone out of him," had very serious misgivings. "I believe," he remarked, 'that I've missed it this time." But he had not. For "in a little while"—1849,—long trains of wagons loaded with merchandise came into Salt Lake City from the States, on their way to the new El Dorado in California. The merchants had taken this means of increasing their wealth, instead of digging for gold. But on their way, like thousands of others, they were stricken with the gold fever, and they found, on reaching the Valley, that their merchandise would prove only an exasperating hindrance to a hasty march. So they gave away or sold at incredibly low prices everything in the shape of "incumbrance," which they had laboriously conveyed from the East. Even their wagons and horses they were anxious to trade for lighter vehicles and mules. At any rate, on they went, post-haste, to the gold fields, leaving wagon-loads of "States goods" with the needy "Mormons," in literal fulfillment of one of the most remarkable predictions on record.

This prophecy subsequently gave President Kimball an opportunity to explain, in part at least, the strange spiritual phenomenon of foretelling future events. He did not claim to be a prophet, he said. The California trains would have come whether or not he had predicted their coming. Only, in this instance, God had condescended to alow his servants to "see the future purposes of the Lord." He had heard the Prophet Joseph say, he went on, that "he was much tempted

about the revelations the Lord gave through him—it seemed to be impossible for them to be fulfilled."

A great deal was done during these ten years—from 1847 to 1857—towards expanding the "Mormon" commonwealth.

Salt Lake City was laid out. A few days after the arrival of the first company, President Young and a few other leading brethren decided to set apart what is now the temple block. The city, said Brigham, shall be commodious, the streets running directly east and west, north and south crossing at right angles. The centre blocks were to be ten acres and the outer ones larger in proportion to their distance from the temple site. Later, exploring parties were sent out in different directions from the camp; and these traveled a great many miles visiting the warm springs, the Jordan, and the lake, in the latter of which the explorers took a plunge. When the Old Fort had been vacated and houses began to appear on city lots, and when it was found that Salt Lake Valley would not accomodate the entire population, settlements were formed in other valleys.

Thus, Bountiful was settled in March, 1848, by Perrigrine Sessions; Ogden valley, in June, 1848, by Captain James Brown; Utah valley, in March, 1849, by John S. Higbee; Sanpete valley, in November, 1849, by Isaac Morley, Seth Taft, and Charles Shumway. And so on till the good places of the State had been discovered and built up. Sometimes, men were called to settle in this that or the other spot with their families; and the men thus called looked upon their work as a mission which must be filled. In 1853 there were about twenty thousand inhabitants in the various settlements, which number was rapidly increasing every year by emigrations from England. Commodious frame and adobe structures were taking the place of the temporary dwellings that had been put up at first. Mills and factories were being es-

tablished; and a prosperous community was growing out of the poor stragglers that wended their way, in 1845, from the banks of the Mississippi. In an incredibly short time they had found a new home, planted and harvested immense crops of grain and other food stuffs, established towns and cities on a permanent basis, and become owners of large tracts of land and great herds of cattle, horses, and sheep.

Another famine, however, visited the Saints in 1856. The crops of '54 and '55 had both failed, owing partly to the grasshoppers, partly to drought. When the scarcity began, many people, having taken the repeated counsel of the Church authorities, had their granaries filled. But not for long, however, for they either gave away or sold their grain to the needy for six dolars per hundred, the regular tithing office price, whereas they might have obtained the market price of between twenty and thirty dollars. Towards the end of the famine there was great suffering. Most of the people resorted to the old practice of digging roots. The preceding winter, too, had been severe. Hence, the cattle, which might have served for food, became thin; thousands of them died through exposure to the rough weather combined with lack of food.

Those years of scarcity in Utah, indeed the whole period of the early settlement, were one long hard battle with the soil—a contest in which victory seemed now on one side, now on the other. Every morsel which the pioneer ate he had to wrest by the strong arm of toil from his powerful antagonist. The wild mountain streams had to be caught and tamed into his service. The alkali plains had to be transformed into fields of waving green. And these in turn had to be protected from the ravages of insect and storm. But under it all he was happy and contented, for he stood no longer in dread of mobbings and drivings.

Spiritual Events.

These temporal affairs, however, while they necessarily occupied the greater portion of their time and thoughts, were not the only things that claimed the attention of the Saints. During these years there was such a strange, yet absolutely necessary and unavoidable, combination of the civic and the religious that it is with difficulty that the events of those days are separated; indeed, sometimes it is impossible to do so.

The 25th of July, 1847, being Sunday, two meetings were held by the pioneers. Among the speakers was Apostle Orson Pratt, whose mind meanwhile had evidently been ruminating on some of the old prophecies. He quoted many passages of Scripture to show that the Saints in coming west to the Rocky mountains were fulfilling predictions uttered hundreds of years previously. The mountain of the Lord's house should be established in the tops of the mountains and elevated above the hills; an ensign here should be unfurled for the gathering of the nations; and their feet were to be blessed, who, on the mountains, should publish peace and say, "Thy God reigneth!"

In February, 1849, Elders Charles C. Rich, Lorenzo Snow, Erastus Snow, and Franklin D. Richards were called to the apostleship to fill vacancies in the quorum of Twelve occasioned by the organization of the First Presidency, and the apostasy of Lyman Wight, who had been out of fellowship with his brethren ever since the maryrdom, and who had shortly afterwards gone to Texas. During the winter preceding (1847-8), John Smith presided over the Saints in the Valley, but when he was made Presiding Patriarch of the whole Chuch, he was succeeded in the office of president of the Salt Lake Stake by Daniel Spencer with David Fullmer and Willard Snow as counselors. A high council was also organized. At a council meeting held on the 22d of February of the same year (1849) fifteen new wards were created in Salt Lake City, with a bishop over each, four wards

having already been organized. At the October conference twenty missionaries were called, including Apostles Taylor, Erastus Snow, Lorenzo Snow, and Richards. On the 11th of March, 1854, Willard Richards died, and his place was filled by Jedediah M. Grant. He had been one of the most useful men in the Church, especially in a literary way. He had long been the Church historian, and since June, 1850, had been editor of the *Deseret News*. His place in the Presidency was filled by a man of strong and remarkable powers, though he was not long to hold that high office, for he was called hence in two years afterwards.

One other religious event of importance remains to be noticed—the Reformation of 1856. This was a kind of revival which occurred in the Church, beginning at Salt Lake and extending to the remotest branches of "Mormondom." At a meeting held in the Social Hall, President Young laid before the brethren the necessity of conforming more strictly to the principles of the gospel than the people generally had hitherto done. A number of questions had been formulated and printed on a sheet, which it was the intention to distribute among the Saints for their answers—yes or no—to each one. Some of them were, in substance—Did you ever shed innocent blood? Have you ever committed adultery? Have you ever been guilty of stealing? Did you ever bear false witness against your neighbor? Do you take the name of the Lord in vain? Do you ever become intoxicated? Do you respect and honor the priesthood? Have you always taught your family the principles of right-living to the best of your knowledge? Do you attend to your family prayers?

In addition, elders were sent to all parts of the territory and distant lands preaching the Reformation, till everyone had expressed his desire to do better or to remain as he was. President Grant was probably the most active of those who took a prominent part in this movement. He went from one

settlement to another preaching with indefatigable energy and zeal till his strong constitution broke down under the tremendous strain. It must not be imagined, however, that hard and fast lines were laid down for the people. On the contrary, the spirit of this work was one of charity and forgiveness. The Saints were urged to forsake their sins, confessing them to those they had wronged, and seeking to improve. There were few excommunications during this whole period of the reformation.

CHAPTER II

ON TO THE SOUTH!

The uniform quiet which Apostle Pratt speaks of as reigning in the Valley was destined to be suddenly and rudely broken, in the year 1857, by one of the most remarkable incidents in the eventful career of the "Mormon" people.

Pioneer Day.

It was the twenty-fourth of July, and a select company of about two thousand Saints—men, women, and children—were celebrating at the picturesque head of Big Cottonwood canyon, twenty-five miles south and east of the city. A temporary pavilion had been erected for dancing, the stars and stripes waved in the mountain breezes from the highest peaks, and brass bands had been brought along to add to the day's enjoyment. Some time in the afternoon, while the people were collected here and there in groups talking mainly of the exciting times through which they had passed in Missouri and Illinois, and of the peace which they hoped to enjoy in their newly-found home in the West, their harmless reminiscences and anticipations were interrupted with strange suddeness.

Four men rode into the place, and sought the presence of President Young. Their panting steeds hinted at an unusual mission, and general curiosity was aroused. Could it be that something had ocurred in the city during the people's absence? Had a hurricane blown down their houses or fires destroyed them? Evidently not, for three of these men were supposed to be in the East. Beyond all question, therefore, their message concerned something that had happened, or was still happening, on the frontiers. What was it? Long

and earnest was the secret conference between these four men and a number of the leading brethren who had been hastily called to the council.

The people had not long to wait after the meeting broke up. They were called together at the pavilion to hear the latest news. General Wells addressed them. A United States army, he said, was on its way to Utah to put down a rebellion that existed here! A. O. Smoot, Judson Stoddard, and O. P. Rockwell had just arrived with the stratling intelligence. There was no doubt of it, for they had seen some of the troops and trains of provisions in Missouri. Then the General gave instructions concerning the matter of leaving next morning. President Young remained silent. On the morning of the twenty-fifth, therefore, the Saints left the canyon for their homes.

"Buchnanan's Blunder."

Some time before this a man by the name of William W. Drummond was sent to Utah as a Federal judge. It is of this man's antics that we must now speak, since they are closely connected with the present story. "Leaving his wife and family in Illinois without the means of support," says Bancroft, "he brought with him a harlot whom he had picked up in the streets of Washington, and introduced her as Mrs. Drummond, seated her by his side on the judicial bench. Gambler and bully, he openly avowed that he had come to Utah to make money." A lady in Salt Lake, a sister of the real Mrs. Drummond, hearing that the judge's wife had arrived in the city, paid her a visit, and of course was very must astonished at finding a different person in charge of his household. Drummond openly insulted the community "by mocking at their laws and institutions, and especially at the institution of polygamy." As a result he won the ill-will of those whom he had come to judge. But he did not re-

main here long. After holding a short term of court at Carson, then in Utah but now in Nevada, he unceremoniously departed with his graceless companion, going home by way of California.

Utah, however, was soon to hear of the runaway Judge. On the 30th of March (1857) he wrote to the attorney-general at Washington resigning his position as Territorial judge in Utah and giving his reasons for this action. In the first place, he said, the "Mormons" looked to Brigham Young alone for the law; secondly, all the male members of the "Mormon" Church were bound together in secret covenant "to resist the laws of the country;" thirdly, "he was fully aware that there was a set of men, set apart by special order of the Church to take both the lives and property of persons who might question the authority of the Church," whose names he would make known "at a future time;" fourthly, the records, papers, etc., of the Supreme Court had been destroyed by order of the Church, and the Federal officers grossly insulted for presuming to raise a single question about the treasonable act;" fifthly, the Federal officers there were "constantly insulted, harassed, and annoyed by the Mormons," for which insults there was no redress; sixthly, the Federal officers were "daily compelled to hear the forms of the American Government traduced, the chief executives of the nation, living and dead, slandered and abused, in the most vulgar, loathsome, and wicked manner." These were followed by details of alleged "Mormon" disloyalty.

This communication to the attorney-general had been most suitably introduced by a letter from a man here by the name of Magraw, a non-"Mormon" who had been the head of the mail service, addressed to the President of the United States, in which he dilated upon the heroism and self-sacrifice required to live among or deal with the "Mormons" on account of their disrespect for Gentile law, life, and property.

That these charges were pure fabrications it is perhaps needless to say, in view of what we already know of the people thus basely slandered by those who associated with them from no other motive than gain. The Magraw communication was inspired by revenge for not obtaining a renewal of the contract to carry the mails from Independence, Missouri, to Salt Lake City; the other, by the social ostracism which had been justly meted out to the Judge as soon as it was known that he was living with a woman who was not his wife. Drummond's charges were refuted by Mr. Curtis E. Bolton, deputy clerk of the Supreme Court of Utah, in a letter to the President.

The President's duty in this matter was, plainly enough, to send out a commission to inquire into the charges made against the "Mormons," as he had recently done in the Kansas troubles. But for some secret reason—most probably to take as many of the Northern troops as far away as possible from the scene of conflict which he saw to be approaching—he chose to do otherwise, to send an army of nearly twenty-five hundred men to suppress a rebellion that did not exist. And what is more, the movements of the army were studiously kept from the ears of the "Mormons." On the frontiers the soldiers were provisioned for the journey of more than fifteen hundred miles. It was the work involved in fitting out on the frontiers this body of troops, and the refusal of the postal officials at Independence to give up the mails to the regular carriers, that gave the first suspicions to A. O. Smoot and others from the Valley concerning the proposed expedition against the "Mormons."

And so the United States troops, in charge of General Harney, were marching to Utah. "I am ordered there," said this determined leader, "and I will winter in the valley or in hell!" But he did not "winter in the Valley;" he was sent

for presently to take his former post in Kansas, and Colonel Johnston was sent west to assume command of his forces. Between the time when Harney left and the time when Johnston arrived, they were in charge of Colonel Alexander, who was in total ignorance of the general purpose of the expedition.

Meantime, the army was approaching its destination. They found the grass burned all along their route, and, besides, the "Mormons" worried their trains on every hand, driving off their cattle and even burning their wagons and provisions. Moreover, the snow was beginning to fall and the cold to set in; they would have to seek winter quarters. When Johnston reached South Pass, he ordered the troops to proceed to Fontenelle Creek, where there was abundant pasture. Later they were ordered to Fort Bridger, where they improvised tents for the winter. They discovered themselves to be poorly enough provisioned, the quartermaster having packed the wagons, at Fort Leavenworth, "with such goods as were at hand, taking no trouble to procure for them their due proportion of other stores." Most of their beef cattle had been run off. Hence, thinks Bancroft, they suffered "privations no less severe than those endured at Valley Forge eighty one years before.

In the latter part of June, 1858, Johnston's army marched into Salt Lake. But it was a dead city through which they passed. The houses were deserted; the barns and granaries were empty; the fruit hung ripening on the trees; the water ran rippling down the street gutters; there was no sign of life anywhere; not a dog barked, not a sound was heard, save the regular tramp, tramp of the soldiery. On went the troops, awestricken at the sight, till they got far beyond the dead city, encamping on the Jordan.

A Strange Exodus.

What had become of the "Mormon" people who so recently had occupied their flourishing settlements, and taken such joy in the permanency of their home?

News of the army marching against them had caused great consternation among the Saints. There arose in their minds visions of those days at Far West when they first discovered that an army of two thousand mob-militia was coming upon them, and also of those last days of Nauvoo when Reverend Brockman and his band of "Regulators" pounced upon the unhappy remnants. Was this to be a repetition of those hideous and never-to-be-forgotten scenes? Manifestly. But it should not be. "We have transgressed no law," said President Young at a public meeting, "neither do we intend to do so; but as for any nation coming to destroy this people, God Almighty being my helper, it shall not be." And in another discourse he said, "I am not going to permit troops here for the protection of the priests and the rabble in their efforts to drive us from the land we possess. . . Before I will again suffer as I have in times gone by, there shall not one building, nor one foot of lumber, nor a fence, nor a tree, nor a particle of grass or hay that will burn be left in reach of our enemies. I am sworn, if driven to extremity, to utterly waste this land in the name of Israel's God, and our enemies shall find it as barren as when we came here."

Before judging this apparently defiant attitude of Brigham Young and the "Mormons," let us recall the whole situation. The Saints knew that they were innocent of the charges made against them. They knew that the life and property of the Gentiles among them were as safe as elsewhere. They knew that no people regarded more sacredly the laws and government of the nation than they did. They knew that the records of the Supreme Court of the Territory

had not been burned. They knew, therefore, that Drummond and Magraw had deliberately and wantonly lied about them. More than that. They were aware that the flame of public sentiment in the East was being fanned into a conflagration by these and other gross falsehoods sent from Utah. Stephen A. Douglas, the one-time friend of the "Mormon" people, seeking to win popularity enough, at the expense of those who had done him many favors, to hoist him into the presidential chair, styled "Mormonism" a "loathsome ulcer on the body politic" and urged Congress to apply the knife to the "disgusting ulcer." Knowing how strong was the popular feeling, and how baseless were the clamors against them, can it be wondered that a body of Anglo-Saxons would take such a stand as the "Mormons" did? What other attitude could they possibly assume and retain their manhood and honor?

The first point, then, was that the army was not to enter the valey. Harney might "winter in hell" if he chose, but he should not be permitted to do so in Utah. Nor was Brigham Young overstepping his authority in taking this stand. He was Governor of the Territory, and he had not received official notification of the army's coming. For aught he knew, therefore, it was a body of foreign troops invading the dominion of the United States. And it was his duty to prevent such a threatened invasion. As soon as this point was settled, General Wells with portions of the Nauvoo Legion, which numbered between four and five thousand men, was ordered to Echo canyon, a long, narrow defile with high precipitous walls, to prevent the entrance into Salt Lake valley. This place was carefully fortified and guarded; parties under Lot Smith were despatched to harry the wagons and advance troops. They were instructed to burn the grass in front of the army, to drive off the cattle, to worry the camps

at night, and, in short, to do anything to impede the progress of the army except to shed blood. They were explicitly given to understand that this, so far as the "Mormons" were concerned, should be an entirely "bloodless campaign." Lot Smith did as he was instructed. Once he set fire to three trains of supplies, and on another occasion brought into the valley a herd of about five hundred beef cattle. Even the provisions and quarters at Fort Bridger were destroyed; so that the army found their winter quarters worse than it would otherwise have been.

But it should be understood, however, that efforts had been made to secure entrance into the valley by peaceable means. General Harney had delegated Captain Van Vliet to go to Salt Lake City to ascertain whether forage and fuel could be purchased. He was well received by President Young, with whom and a number of other leading "Mormons," he had a long conference. The President explained the whole situation to the Captain. "The governor informed me," said Captain Van Vliet, in his official report, "that there was abundance of everything I required for the troops, such as lumber, forage, etc., but that none would be sold to us." The Captain told the brethren what would be the result of such a course—this army might be destroyed,but a larger one would come and annihilate the people. "We are aware," was the calm reply, "that such will be the case; but when those troops arrive, they will find Utah a desert." He had attended a public meeting in the Tabernacle, at which over four thousand people voted to apply the torch to their homes, if necessary. And the troops, as we have seen, took up winter quarters at Fort Bridger.

By the next spring, a reaction began to appear in the Eastern sentiment against the "Mormons," and President Buchanan's eyes commenced to open to his gigantic blunder.

Colonel Thomas L. Kane, under cover of another name, arrived in Salt Lake City in February, having come by way of California. In any guise and on any mission the kind-hearted Colonel would have been gladly welcomed by the Saints; but he was twice welcome now for his mission was to bring about a peaceable settlement of the difficulties. Without entering into details, we may say that he accomplished his purpose admirably. One of the objects of the expedition was to install a new governor in the person of Alfred Cumming. Upon visiting the camps of the army, Colonel Kane induced Governor Cumming to accompany him to the city. The latter did so, and was welcomed by President Young and the whole people. "I have everywhere been recognized as Governor of Utah," said Mr. Cumming, in a communication to General Johnston, a few days after his arrival in Salt Lake; "and, so far from having encountered insults or indignities, I am gratified in being able to state to you that, in passing through the settlements, I have been universally greeted with such respectful attentions as are due to the representative authority of the United States in the Territory." Subsequently, the Governor declared that he had examined the records of the Supreme and District courts and found them "perfect and unimpaired."

President Young did not now object to the troops passing through the city. It was decided that they should march to a point beyond, where they would be likely to do no mischief. But the original purpose of migrating south was not abandoned. Governor Cumming exerted his influence to the utmost to induce President Young not to move his people; but the suspicious Brigham remained unalterable, and preparations for the burning went on. "There is no longer any danger," said the kindly Governor; "General Johnston and his army will keep faith with you." "We know all about it,

Governor," was the reply of President Young. "We have on just such occasions seen our disarmed men hewn down in cold blood, our virgin daughters violated, our wives ravished to death before our eyes. We know all about it!" To the commissioners appointed by President Buchanan—they had come with a pardon for the "Mormon" people!—Brigham had said: "Before the troops reach here, this city will be in ashes, every tree and shrub will be cut to the ground, and every blade of grass that will burn shall be burned. Our wives and children will go to the canyons, and take shelter in the mountains. . . . No mob can live in the homes we have built."

And so it would have been at the slightest hint of depredations on the part of the army on their march. Before the 26th of June, the people had deserted all the northern settlements. All the provisions that they did not need, they cached securely. For many days an almost continuous train of wagons might have been seen going southward. No one seemed to know where he was going; but "On to the South!" was the universal cry. There was great suffering entailed in this unfortunate move. Many were indigent. We read of poorly-dressed and bare-footed men, women, and children. It rained almost incessantly the while. Those who had more than one family to move, had to make several trips from Provo to Salt Lake; and those who had no means of going alone went with their neighbors. But go they did, in obedience to the command of their leader, and, as they thought, to preserve their own lives. Only enough men were left in the settlements to set fire to the houses. Old timers still point to the places in and around their premises where straw and other combustible material were thrown down ready for the torch that would make them homeless. One false move, therefore, on the part of the army would have brought on

simultaneously mighty conflagrations in all the settlements in and north of the city. This is how the troops when they entered the valley found Salt Lake deserted.

When the army had got to a safe distance, the people returned to their homes, and went about their business, without realizing that they had just lived through a period, which, for dramatic and sublime elements, can scarcely be paralleled in the history of any people.

But even out of this evil some good was eventually to come. Remaining three days on the banks of the Jordan, the troops pushed on to Cedar valley, where a site had been chosen. At this place, which was called Camp Floyd, they remained till they were called to fight in the real rebellion, the conflict between the North and the South. It is curious to note that General Johnston died in a struggle against the country which he came to Utah ostensibly to defend. In the vicinity of the Camp, for many miles, the farmers were amply repaid for the presence of the troops. Many of these latter were poor, and this opportunity to dispose of the products of their farms at high prices was greatly beneficial to them. In addition to this, when the army left, large quantities of clothing, blankets, etc., were sold at low prices.

But the presence of the troops was to cost Salt Lake dearly enough in the host of camp followers that drank, fought, and killed each other in the city.

CHAPTER III

A "FLY" IN THE NATIONAL OINTMENT

The doctrine of "Mormonism" that has attracted the widest public attention, and, strangely enough, the one that has been the least understood, and most grossly misrepresented, is what is know among the Saints as Celestial Marriage, including a plurality of wives, and among non-"Mormons" as Polygamy. We do not intend in this chapter to make an argument for this tenet,but merely to state the facts in the case, without which the remaining parts of this book cannot be readily comprehended.

The Origin of American "Polygamy."

At a special conference of the Church held at Salt Lake City, August 28th and 29th, 1852, the first public announcement of the doctrine was made. The revelation contained in the Doctrine and Covenants (section 132) was read, and a discourse deilvered by Apostle Orson Pratt. The revelation was then published in pamphlet form and widely distributed throughout the United States. At the same time missionaries were sent abroad to proclaim the peculiar tenets of "Mormonism," not excluding this doctrine.

But this was by no means the beginning of plural marriage among the Saints. As early as 1831, while Joseph was "translating" the Scriptures, he received a revelation on the subject, in answer to his inquiries as to why the Lord justified Abraham, Jacob, Moses, David, and Solomon in having "many wives and concubines." But the Prophet at the time said nothing about the doctrine to his people, outside of one or two of his most intimate associates, so violently did it

clash with modern notions respecting the domestic relations. However, at Nauvoo, he was again commanded to teach and practice the principle. He appears to have hesitated, as well he might; whereupon an angel with drawn sword appeared before him and told him that he should be destroyed unless he did as he was commanded in the matter. From that time on till his martyrdom, we find him teaching the principle to his friends—those whom he thought he could trust. And not only did he teach it, but he practiced it, marrying several women according to the celestial order, and counseling his brethren to do the same. Some time in July, 1843, a part of the revelation was written and read to the high council by Hyrum Smith, all of whom, except two or three, received it as true doctrine. Among those whom the Prophet had sealed to him for time and eternity were Eliza R. Snow, Sarah Ann Whitney, Helen Mar Kimball, and Lucy Walker. A number of other leading brethren of the Church also entered into the practice.

All this, of course, was not public at the time, for it would have been thought by most of the Saints themselves as grave immorality, and would probably have brought about Joseph's immediate death. As it was, his martyrdom at Carthage was due in some measure to the antagonism which this principle had roused among the apostates at Nauvoo. But these facts are so well authenticated that no one at all acquainted with the history of the Church can deny them, except, indeed, those whose interest it is to hide the truth. Those who wish to verify these facts can do so by reading (*Historical Record*, pp. 219-234) the numerous affidavits by several of the Prophet's wives and those also of the brethren who were taught the doctrine by Joseph himself.

The substance of this revelation on marriage—"the new and everlasting covenant"—is as follows. After instructing Joseph "to prepare his heart to *receive* and *obey* this law, it

goes on to say that "all covenants, contracts, bonds, obligations, oaths, vows, performances, connections, associations, or expectations" that are not entered into and sealed "by the Holy Spirit of promise" through him who has the authority to do so, "are of no efficacy, virtue, or force, in and after the resurrection from the dead." This is a law upon which is predicated entrance to God's glory; and "all those who have this law revealed unto them must obey the same," otherwise they are damned. "Whatsoever things remain are by me," said the Lord, "and whatsoever things are not by me, shall be shaken and destroyed." This applied to marriage means that "if a man marry a wife in the world," by any authority other than God's, "the covenant and marriage are not of force when they are dead." And in the other world the parties thereto shall be as the angels, ministers to those worthy of a higher degree of glory, but who did not obey the law by which they might be "enlarged." If, on the contrary, a man marry a wife according to this "new and everlasting covenant," the parties thereto, unless they shed innocent blood, "shall pass by the angels, and the Gods, which are set there, to their exaltation and glory in all things, as hath been sealed upon their heads, which glory shall be a fulness and a continuation of the seeds for ever and ever."

The revelation then goes on to speak of the promise given unto Abraham according to which his seed was to become as numerous as the sands on the sea shore; part of which was fulfilled in Sarah's giving Hagar to the Patriarch. Abraham received concubines, who bore him children, "and it was accounted unto him for righteousness, *because they were given unto him, and he abode in my law.*" So with the other men of God "from the creation until this time," "*in nothing did they sin, save in those things which they received not of me.*" Then follow the laws regulating adultery. "If any man espouse a virgin," is the passage authorizing plural marriage

in this dispensation, "and desire to espouse another, and the first give her consent; and if he espouse the second, and they are virgins, and have vowed to no other man, then he is justified; he cannot commit adultery, for they are given unto him; and if he have ten virgins given unto him by this law, he is justified."

Two or three words of comment on this revelation are necessary by way of correcting some wrong notions that prevail respecting the doctrines it teaches.

In the first place, the principle of plural marriage is not the only, in fact not the main, one advanced here. It is comparatively incidental, if we may so speak. On the contrary, the principal topic is the eternity of the marriage covenant when "entered into, and sealed by the Holy Spirit of promise." The common idea entertained by the whole Christian world is, that marriage is something pertaining only to this world of sin—that it is, in fact, a kind of temporary arrangement in human society, to be no longer known or recognized after death. Hence, this new law of "Mormonism" is somewhat revolutionary aside from the view taken of plurality of wives. The relation of the sexes is sacred, next to life itself, and will never be regarded as a low, temporary, human make-shift, when the ties are formed by the authority of the priesthood.

In the next place, it is by reason of this revelation, and not because the practice was legalized by the Lord in ancient times, that the "Mormons" have entered into this order of marriage—the plurality of wives. It is true that the Saints have frequently referred to the Old Testament as sanctioning this doctrine, but they have done so merely to show that, since God approved the practice anciently, it cannot be wrong now, notwithsanding the ideas to the contrary that prevail today in civilized, "Christian" nations.

Thirdly, this law of plural marriage is not obligatory upon

the members of the Church generally, much less is it synonymous with "Mormonism" itself, as most people seem to think. On the contrary, it commands only one person to obey it—Joseph Smith; others must do so when it is "revealed" to them. Nevertheless, the law authorized the general practice of this form of marriage, under the regulations prescribed. This much it is necessary to say, in view of the misinterpretations put upon this revelation by anti-"Mormons."

"Mormon" Plurality of Wives.

To most people the word "polygamy"—which for this reason, the Saints disclaim as a designation of their marriage system—is synonymous with unbridled lust, licentiousness, sensuality. It conjures up in their minds all the evils of the oriental harem—something that destroys the romance of love, that strikes at the sanctity of the home, that degrades man and woman to the level of the beasts; and so on to the end of the vocabulary of crime and degeneration and moral decay. This conception, the world, hearing the term used in connection with "Mormonism," have, perhaps naturally and innocently enough, loaded upon this religion; and they have been encouraged in their misapprehension by cunning priests and political demagogues, who have had a private motive to serve by falsehood and deceit, or who, to view the matter more charitably, have possessed a surplus of fanatical energy which they have woefully misdirected. The unfortunate result has been a general ignorance concerning both the practice and the motives of the "Mormon" people in this respect. Magazine articles, books, and cartoons, reeking with such impurity and filth as would subject the authors and publishers to speedy punishment under the laws regulating printed matter if they were to appear in any other cause, have been distributed throughout Europe and the United States as accurate representations of "Mormon" polygamy—

the manner of selecting wives, the domestic relations, and the rest. Most of these are too shocking to be more than referred to in any work having the remotest claims to decency.

Such, however, is not the "Mormon" idea of plural marriage. It is true that much could be pointed out in the practice of this principle, which is repulsive to a cultivated taste and refinement—repulsive to the natural feelings of the heart. Some men have, no doubt, obeyed this law with no higher object than self-gratification; and their domestic relations have been correspondingly violative of the general laws that should control the holy sacrament of marriage. This much any 'Mormon" will admit. But what the Saints have always objected to is the practice of holding up this phase of "polygamy," which none would more quickly and thoroughly condemn than the "Mormons" themselves, as the legitimate fruits of plural marriage in Utah, and of deliberately suppressing the other and approved side. This on its face is dishonest, and yet it is repeatedly done to this day. On this principle, all the broken vows, the wife-beating, the desertions, and the general infelicities of monogamy might be pointed to as the proper fruitage of marriage with a single wife. But this, as everyone must concede, would be unjust. The fact is, that unhappiness in the marital relations is the result of the individual temper and passions of the men and women who enter married life, not of the principle of marriage, monogamic or polygamic. Principles, like men, must be judged by their highest possibilities. And viewed in this light plural marriage among the Saints will bear investigation.

It cannot be shown that "polygamy" originated in a low impulse. On the contrary, an examination of the facts connected with its introduction reveals the purest and highest motive, connected with no small degree of courage and heroism. We have already seen that the Prophet kept the secret

locked in his bosom for more than ten years. He clearly foresaw the result of his revelation upon the strong and fixed prejudices of the age, and delayed it as long as he could without danger to his prophetic claims. And when he did make it known, all who had not been specially prepared for its reception by the Holy Spirit, were shocked inexpressibly by his words. This is true of both men and women, and shows that the class of people whom he had collected together had no such loose ideas of morality as their enemies have charged them with holding. The majority of them were strong, independent spirits, who must be convinced both in mind and heart that a doctrine was true, before they would accept it, and who after they did receive it would refuse to relinquish it no matter at what cost to themselves.

Of the conduct of two or three of those who were approached on the subject by Joseph, we have a record. Benjamin F. Johnson says that he was greatly shocked when the Prophet disclosed the matter to him during a private walk. 'I sincerely believed him," he says, "to be a Prophet of God, and I loved him as such, and also for the many evidences of his kindness to me; yet such was the force of my education, and the scorn that I felt towards anything unvirtuous, that under the first impulse of my feelings, I looked him calmly, but firmly in the face and told him that I had always believed him to be a good man and wished to believe it still and would try to, and that I would take for him a message to my sister [Joseph had asked for her hand in marriage], and if the doctrine was true, all would be well, but if I should afterwards learn that it was offered to insult or prostitute my sister, I would take his life." He was convinced afterwards, by a divine manifestation, that the principle was true.

Apostle John Taylor says with regard to the time when the matter was laid before the Twelve: "I had always enter-

tained strict ideas of virtue, and I felt as a married man that this was to me, outside of this principle, an appalling thing to do. The idea of going and asking a young lady to be married to me when I had already a wife! It was a thing calculated to stir up feelings from the innermost depths of the human soul. Nothing but a knowledge of God, and the revelations of God, and the truth of them, could have induced me to embrace such a principle as this." And he and the rest of the apostles put off the "evil day" as long as they could.

Heber C. Kimball was requested three times by the Prophet "to go and take a certain woman as his wife," but he did not obey till he was commanded to do so in the name of the Lord. "My father realized the situation fully," says his daughter Helen Mar, "and the love and reverence he bore for the Prophet were so great that he would sooner have laid down his life than have betrayed him. This was one of the greatest tests of his faith he had ever experienced . . . . He became sick in body, but his mental wretchedness was too great to allow of his retiring, and he would walk the floor till nearly morning and sometimes the agony of his mind was so terrible that he would wring his hands and weep like a child, and beseech the Lord ot be merciful."

No; there is nothing more goundless than the supposition that this doctrine of plural marriage originated in a low motive. With the great majority of those who embraced this doctrine, it was a sacred religious obligation, which, though it would enevitably bring down upon them the wrath and opposition of the world, must be sacredly observed.

And this motive resulted in a practice as far removed from the conceptions of the average non-"Mormon" as the poles are asunder. The consent of the first wife was sought, and in most cases obtained, before the second ceremony was performed. Indeed, many instances might be pointed out where the first wife made all the necessary preliminary ar-

rangements with the woman whom she wished to become her co-helpmate. In some cases, the wives occupied different houses, and the husband's time would be divided equally between the two homes; in others, they would live in the same house. Theoretically the wives were equal; no social stigma was attached to the plural wife or her children; she mingled as freely as the first in society, and no distinction was made between their children. Lorenzo Snow, at Nauvoo, married four wives with the understanding that they were all equal, and that he might acknowledge any one of them publicly should circumstances enable him to do so. That there arose jealousies and misunderstandings in some polygamic families is very likely true, but the good Latter-day Saint sought most earnestly and prayerfully to do right in the matter. But the average "polygamous" family in general was as free from jars and disquieting troubles as the average monogamic family, and had as much genuine happiness within its precincts. The cost of living, of course, was increased proportionately to the number of wives; but, generally speaking, no one embraced this principle without knowing beforehand that he could afford it. At most only three or four per cent. of the male membership of the Church ever embraced this order at any time. But some of these had more than two wives. This matter of increased expense attached to having more than one family at a time, also speaks forcibly against the statement that sensualism was the inspiring motive of the system. How perfectly insane would be this method of marriage on the hypothesis that "Mormon" polygamists were licentious. Immorality would have sought an easier method to gratify its appetite—that, namely, followed by the world in general.

Legal Enactments.

Nevertheless, "polygamy," as we shall frequently have occa-

sion to note, was to be made the pretext* for a long and bitter fight against the adherents of the "Mormon" faith. For many years—from the time in fact, of its first public announcement in 1852 to the present—a sercet clique of unscrupulous anti-"Mormons" in Utah, by the most infamous methods were to play upon the religious and political prejudices of the Nation, till Congress was induced to pass law after law for the purpose of bringing this doctrine of plural marriage to an end, if not to accomplish the destruction of the "Mormon" Church.

The first of these was the law of 1862. It provided that "every person having a husband or wife living, who shall marry any other person, whether married or single, in a Territory of the United States, or other place over which the United States have exclusive jurisdiction, shall . . . be adjudged guilty of bigamy, and, upon conviction thereof, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding five hundred dollars, and by imprisonment for a term not exceeding five years." Another section disincorporated the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and made it unlawful for any "association for religious or charitable purposes to acquire or hold real estate" to the extent or more than fifty thousand dollars. But the law remained a dead letter on the national statute books for twenty years. President Young was arrested in the following year, but not convicted, for lack of evidence. It is curious, but somewhat edifying, to note that while the provision for disincorporating the Church was under discussion, one United States senator objected to reducing the amout of property that a charitable or religious organization might hold from one hundred thousand dollars to

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*I let this word stand. "Mormonism" was violently opposed before "polygamy" was ever taught. It is opposed now that the practice has been abandoned. Pretext for opposition to the Church will never be lacking by "Mormonism's" enemies.

fifty thousand dollars, until it could be ascertained whether this would affect the interests of the Catholic Missions in California! And, singularly enough, its passage was postponed till he could satisfy himself on the point.

It should be stated here that the Saints always regarded this law as unconstitutional; and many of the leading brethren were anxious to have it tested, believing that the courts would so decide. Accordingly, in 1875, a test case was furnished in the person of Elder George Reynolds, who was then a young man of thirty-two years. Having married his second wife in 1874, his case came, clearly enough, under the law. The trial, at which he supplied all the evidence necessary for his conviction, resulted in his being sentenced to a fine of five hundred dollars, and imprisonment for two years at hard labor. In November, 1879, the Supreme Court of the United States reaffirmed the decisions of the inferior courts, thus declaring the law of 1862 constitutional.

In the Congressional session of 1869-70, an anti-"polygamy" bill was introduced into the national legislature, which, though it never became law, created a great sensation in Utah, by reason of its outrageous provisions. One section, for instance, gave the Governor the sole power to appoint all the officers of the Territory; another abolished trial by jury in certain cases; and a third demanded that the President of the Church make detailed reports to the Governor, of all the Church receipts and disbursements. It should be said, however, that a number of modifications were made before it was finally voted down. But the effect on the Saints was startling, as it revealed to them, in part, the animus that ultimately secured laws only a degree less harsh than this proposed measure. "In reading this bill," said the editor of the *Deseret News*—George Q. Cannon—"indignation overmasters every other feeling. We examine our skins, they are white. We look at the people around us, their lineaments proclaim

their Anglo-Saxon descent. We listen to their speech—it is the language of freedom, the language in which Shakespeare, Milton, and Thomas Jefferson wrote—the language in which Patrick Henry, Adams, Lee, and a host of other patriots clothed their immortal ideas. We look at our mountains; though their summits are covered with eternal snow, they are not Siberia. The valleys they encircle are the abodes of a free people—American citizens, many of whose fathers fought and died for liberty, and taught their sons its accents—not serfs whose lives and fortunes are at the disposal of an autocrat." But fortunately the bill did not become a law.

One other measure we shall merely refer to in this place —the Edmonds-Tucker Act,—which we shall consider in detail in another chapter. The Edmonds bill became a law in 1882, which, though immeasurably harsh, was reinforced, in 1887, by a more exacting act, the Edmonds-Tucker law. But the Saints, viewing these as violative of the fundamentail provisions of the national Constitution respecting the freedom of conscience, suffered heroically till 1890, when their own action turned the tide of their afflictions.

In the last named year President Wilford Woodruff issued his so-called "Manifesto," which was sustained by the whole body of Latter-day Saints. After denying certain charges to the effect that plural marriages were still being solemnized by the Church, the Declaration went on to say that "inasmuch as laws have been enacted by Congress forbidding plural marriages, which laws have been pronounced constitutional by the court of the last resort, I [Wilford Woodruff] hereby declare my intention to submit to those laws, and to use my influence with the members of the Church over which I preside to do likewise." This brought "polygamy" to an end among the "Mormons," so far as the formation of new ties in plural marriage was concerned.

CHAPTER IV

A LONG WAIT FOR THE CROWN

The first form of government in Utah was what may be termed the theocratic, followed by the short-lived provisional State of Deseret, which was succeeded by the Territory, which, in turn, finally gave way to Statehood. This last honor was denied Utah on account of her peculiar religion, or, more specifically, the unusual domestic relations of her people.

The State of Deseret.

From July 24th, 1847, to March, 1849, the people were under ecclesiastical control. The entire population of Salt Lake Valley and of other places where settlements had been made, was "Mormon," with the exception of a very few persons who had come with relatives belonging to the Church. Moreover, the first work of the people, as we have seen, was to wrest a subsistence from the soil. Besides, everyone was looked after as well as, if not better than, he could have been under a civil government; and since the prevailing ecclesiastical control was obnoxious to no one, there was no immediate call for a change. If any difficulty arose, it was settled in the bishop's court, the high council, or by the First Presidency. No distinction appears to have been drawn between the spiritual and the temporal jurisdiction of these authorities.

When the gold fields of California increased the proportion of Gentiles, though this was more or less temporary, it was found desirable to segregate the civil from the religious. Accordingly, on the 8th of March, 1849, a conven-

tion was held, at which a constitution for the proposed State of Deseret was formed. The customary division of governmental powers into legislative, executive, and judicial, was followed. The seat of the new government was to be Salt Lake City. There were to be two houses of the legislature, a senate and a house of representatives, with an annual session on the first Monday in December. There were to be a governor, a lieutenant-governor, a secretary of state, an auditor, and a treasurer. The first two were to be elected for four years, the second officer to be the *ex-officio* president of the senate. The judicial powers were to be vested in a supreme court with such other inferior tribunals as might be established by the legislature.

On the 12th of this month the following ticket was elected under the new Provisional Government of the State of Deseret: Governor, Brigham Young; secretary, Willard Richards; treasurer, Newel K. Whitney; chief justice, Heber C. Kimball; associate justices, John Taylor and Newel K. Whitney; attorney general, Daniel H. Wells; marshal, Horace S. Eldredge; assessor and collector, Albert Carrington; surveyor of highways, Joseph L. Heywood. The bishops of the wards were chosen magistrates.

In July following a special session of the legislature was called. Almon W. Babbit was chosen Delegate to Congress, for it had been decided to petition the national legislature to admit the new State into the Union. He carried with him to Washington a memorial asking for admission, and also for Congressional recognition of himself as delegate. But when these matters were presented to the lawmakers at the Capital, they were unable to see them in the same light. A committee to which the memorial was referred reported that it would be inexpedient to grant it, for the reason, among others, that "the memorialist comes as the representative of a State; but of a State not of the Union, and therefore not entitled to a

representation here; the admission of Mr. Babbit would be a quasi recognition of the legal existence of the State of Deseret; and no act should be done by this house which, even by implication, may give force and vitality to a political organization extra-constitutional, and independent of the laws of the United States." But seeing the need of some form of government for the "Mormons," the Washington authorities began considering the advisibility of a territorial organization, which was soon effected.

A Territorial Blight.

In September, 1850, after several months' delay, the Senate passed a bill providing for the organization of the Territory of Utah. The new officials were: Governor, Brigham Young; secretary, B. D. Harris, of Vermont; chief justice, Lemuel G. Brandebury, of Pennsylvania; associate justices, Perry C. Brocchus, of Alabama, and Zerubbabel Snow; attorney, Seth M. Blair; and marshal, Joseph L. Heywood. Of these—besides the Governor—Blair, Heywood, and Snow were "Mormons." News of the creation of the new government did not reach Deseret till January, 1851. In April of that year the change went into effect. The population of the territory was ascertained as eleven thousand three hundred fifty-four. In August, Dr. John M. Bernhisel, a man of good education and general culture, was elected Delegate to Congress.

Some time in July, of this year, the Federal officials came; and here began the friction between "Mormons" and Gentiles in Utah, which was to continue for many years. They were well received by the people, a ball and supper being given in honor of Justice Brandebury and Secretary Harris, who were the first to arrive. The latter brought with him forty-four thousand dollars to defray the expenses of the legislature and to erect a public building. "Had they

been men of ability and discretion," remarks Bancroft in his *History of Utah*, "content to discharge this duty without interfering with the social and religious peculiarities of the people, all would have been well; but such was not their character or policy. Judge Brocchus especially was a vain and ambitious man, full of self-importance, fond of intrigue, corrupt, revengeful, hypocritical."

Soon, however, Brocchus announced his determination to return to the East. The probable cause of his discontent was that Dr Bernhisel had obtained the plum—the Congressional office—which he coveted for himself. The others, too, influenced by the Judge, became dissatisfied. They could not live, they hinted, on such a small salary as they were receiving. A petition, numerously signed and including Brigham Young's name, was forthwith hastened to Washington asking that the salaries of these men be increased. Still they were disgruntled, especially Brocchus. Before leaving, he secured the privilege of addressing the "Mormons" at a general conference, on a matter pertaining to the Washington Monument Fund. "It is a religious meeting," said President Young, "I suppose you are aware; but I wish well to your cause." At the conference, which was that year held in September, Judge Brocchus was "respectfully and honorably introduced," as he himself confessed, by President Young. He touched a variety of topics—sorrow for the past "Mormon" calamities; his own virtues and high qualifications for office; Revolutionary and other heroes, among whom he included Zachary Taylor, deceased, whom President Young, he complained, had announced to be now an inhabitant of Tophet; the disqualifications of Governor Young for his office; the need of party division in Utah; and many others. The patience of his audience giving out toward the end, he fell to berating them. "The Mormons were disloyal"—which remark was met by hisses from the female part of his

congregation. "This reminds me," he said, addressing the ladies, "that I have a commission from the Washington Monument Association to ask of you a block of marble as the test of your loyalty to the government of the United States. But in order for you to do it acceptably, you must become virtuous, and teach your daughters to become virtuous, or your offering had better remain in the bosom of your native mountains."

"A spontaneous outburst of public indignation" was the result, and the speaker was unable to make himself heard. The people, rising, cried for President Young, who thereupon took the stand, and made a reply in his characteristic, straightforward manner. But for the man's office, he said, he would not consider him worth answering. "You stand there now," he went on, "white and shaking, at the hornet's nest you have stirred up—you are a coward, and that is why you have cause to praise men that are not and why you praise Zachary Taylor." He repeated his assertion that Taylor was in Hades, whereupon Brocchus jumped up protesting angrily. But Heber C. Kimball, touching him lightly on the shoulder, told him he need have no doubt about it, as he would see when he got there! "You talk of things you have on hearsay," Brigham went on. "I'll talk of hearsay then—the hearsay that you are discontented, and will go home, because we cannot make it worth your while to stay. What it would satisfy you to get out of us, I think it would be hard to tell; but I am sure it is more than you'll get. Go home to mammy, straightway, and the sooner the better."

After this, Brocchus was given an opportunity to apologize, but he declared that he said what he intended to say, though he "designed to offer no insult" to his audience! His speech he said, "in all its parts, was the result of deliberation and care— not proceeding from a heated imagination, or a maddened impulse, as seems to have been the general im-

pression." But he did not apologize because of the admitted impossibility of smoothing matters over; though he subsequently asked the Governor to do so for him. Not long afterwards, he and his discontented colleagues left for Washington. Harris taking the forty-four thousand dollars with him. For a long time afterwards these men were called "the runaways," the "Mormon" poetess embalming their memory in the following stanza—

"Though Brocchus, Day, and Brandebury,
And Harris, too, the Secretary,
Have gone—they went! But when they left us,
They only of themselves bereft us."

Their tale of woe, however, received no sympathy at Washington, though they won the popular applause. Daniel Webster, the Secretary of State, ordered them back to their posts; but the chagrin and humiliation involved in doing so would be greater than they could bear; and so they resigned. Brandebury was succeeded by Lazarus H. Reed, of New York; Brocchus, by Leonidas Shaver; and Harris, by Benjamin G. Ferris. When the full story of the "runaways" became known generally, which it did in a pamphlet over the signature of Jedediah M. Grant, they were overwhelmed by public ridicule for the part they had played.

The new officers arrived in the summer and autumn of 1853. Like their predecessors, they were well received. Judge Reed, in a letter written shortly after his arrival, gave his impressions of the Governor. "He has taken pains to make my residence here agreeable," he said, among other things. "The Governor, in manners and conversation, is a polished gentleman, very neat and tasty in dress, easy and pleasant in conversation, and I think, a man of decided talent and strong intellectual qualities. He is a very excellent speaker; his gesture uncommonly graceful, articulation distinct, and speech pleasant. I have made up my mind that no

man has been more grossly misrepresented than Governor Young, and that he is a man who will reciprocate kindness and good intentions as heartily and as freely as any one, but if abused, or crowded hard, I think he may be found exceedingly hard to handle." Judge Shaver was similarly impressed. But Secretary Ferris, after six months' residence here, concluded that he had had enough of the "Mormons" and abruptly left the Territory. Both he and his wife afterwards wrote books against the Saints.

In 1854 Governor Young's term of office expired, and through the influence of Colonel E. J. Steptoe he was reappointed. The following year saw the deaths of Judges Reed and Shaver, the former passing away at his home in New York, the latter in Salt Lake, having been found dead in his chamber on the morning of June 29th. Both of these men were respected and loved by the "Mormon" people, and their demise was sincerely regretted. Judge Kinney succeeded to Reed's office and Judge Drummond to that of Shaver.

In 1862, Utah made another attempt to get into the Union. A convention was held at Salt Lake City, and William H. Hooper and George Q. Cannon were sent to Washington. But both houses of the national legislature were controlled by a party that had pledged itself to extirpate the "twin relics of barbarism"—slavery and polygamy; hence the "Mormons" were answered by a law against their peculiar marriage system. In January, 1867, another attempt to obtain Statehood was made, but with no better success.

And so we come to the year 1870 in Utah affairs. Meantime, a great many changes had occurred. Thousands of Saints had come here from England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and other European countries. The various States of the Union also had sent out their quota. A telegraph line and a railway—the Union Pa-

cific—had been established between here and the East. Some of the great mines of the Territory had begun to put forth their mineral wealth. And many Gentiles had taken up their abode among the "Mormons" mainly for commercial reasons. Thus the Territory was growing constantly in importance and population, and would have secured Statehood but for incidents which we have now to relate.

The year 1870 gave rise to what was called the Liberal Party of Utah. Ostensibly it was a political organization, but in reality it transcended these bounds, and assumed to regulate the affairs of the Church. Hitherto, there had been no party lines, unless, the solid phalanx of the "Mormons" might have been called a party—the "People's Party"—which was the case as soon as the "Liberals" came into existence as an organization. But from that time on Utah was to have such party battles as had never been known in any other State.

Its origin was peculiar. Judge Brocchus, it will be remembered, advised the Saints to divide on party lines, for reasons which any one might have easily seen. No doubt the few Gentiles and disgruntled "Mormons" then in the Territory heartily wished this gratuitous counsel adopted. But there were not yet enough to make a respectable following. General Conner, who, in 1862, had been sent here with troops from California and Nevada to overawe the "Mormons" from their station at Camp Douglas, lent such encouragement to the idea as to merit the unenviable reputation of being the "father of the Liberal Party." Later, some frightful murders, including the Mountain Meadows massacre, which, like everything else that was disagreeable, were laid at the door of the Church, was made a pretext to solidify the elements of discontent. Then came a policy of the "Mormon" authorities, the creation and encouragement of co-operative mercantile institutions, which threatened to take

much of the trade out of the hands of Gentile merchants. But the direct occasion for the organization of the party was the Godbeite movement. Towards the latter part of 1869, a group of really talented men—including Wm. S. Godbe, T. B. H. Stenhouse, Edward Tullidge, Henry W. Lawrence, E. L. T. Harrison, and a few others of less prominence—"outgrew Mormonism," and so left the Church. They had supposed from the respect which they formerly commanded that their dissaffection would create a rupture in the Church, which opinion the Gentiles also entertained, both here and elsewhere. And on the strength of this unfounded conjecture the "Liberal" Party was formed. But their hopes of a following proved delusive; few of the Saints paid much attention to the apostasy of these men, nor to their subsequent opposition.

If the origin of this party was remarkable, its composition was, and has been, much more so. Speaking in general of the "Liberal" Party in Utah, its membership has been made up entirely of Gentiles and apostates from the "Mormon" Church. It has been, in other words, an anti-"Mormon" organization, ostensibly and really. And a motly aggregation of "regulators" and "reformers" it has been! There were those who from the beginning of their Utah career were bitter, unprincipled, and unrelenting in their opposition to anything "Mormon," good as well as bad; whose sole purpose was to overthrow "Mormonism," to pull it up root and branch. Then there were men in the party who saw nothing objectionable in "Mormonism" except polygamy, who thought it best not to interfere with other people's affairs, domestic, religious, or political, who, therefore, entertained the friendliest feelings for the Saints and respect for their religion, but who were whipped into line by that "cat o' nine tails"—the word "Jack-Mormon," a term used chiefly to designate the class of people who are neither

"Mormons" nor anti-"Mormons." And between these two degrees there was an almost infinite variety, from the man whose affections had been slighted by a "Mormon" girl, to the one who sincerely wished "the whole tribe" of Saints in Hades. It may be added that there were almost as many aims in the party as there were distinct individuals. Some objected only to plural marriage. Those were mostly sincere. Others found fault with the obedience of the "Mormon" people to the priesthood; in other words, their unity in all things, temporal and spiritual. But these persons did not object to unity in general, only to unity in the "Mormons." Others still, as stated, would annihilate everything that bore the name "Mormon," good and bad alike. These were usually preachers or those excessively sanctimonious.

Strangest of all, however, have been the methods of this "Liberty" Party to attain these numerous ends. For many years it took the form of a conspiracy, and its movements were in perfect harmony with its character. Its organ was the Tribune which, everyone knows, has at times fairly seethed with falsehood and indecency. Then, too, the local agency of the Associated Press has always been in its hands. In addition to this, some of the Governors of the Territory and most of the Federal officials were members of the league against Utah. With all this power in their hands and the word "polygamy" constantly on their lips as the war-cry, it can easily be seen what harm the Party might do, and did do, to Utah and her people. And this power was wielded in the most conscienceless manner. Despatches, letters, private and public, magazine articles, and books were sent East to create the impression that "polygamy" and "Mormonism" were synonymous terms, that the life and property of Gentiles were unsafe in Utah, that there was no respect for law and order in the Territory, except among the Gentiles, and that there were constant uprisings among the "Mormons" against

the government of the United States. If any crime was committed, such, for instance, as the murder of a non-"Mormon," it was charged to the Church. Governor Eli H. Murray twice deceived President Cleveland in his representations that United States troops were needed here to quell rebellions. To this and other similar things is due his removal from office.

And this was by no means the climax. Individual cases were cited by these instruments of defamation where murderous sentiments were alleged to have been expressed against non-"Mormons" by prominent Church officials, which it is needless to say, were pure fabrications, as for example the infamous "Red Hot Address" by "Bishop West" of Juab. Notwithstanding there was no bishop of this name then in the Church, that there was no such sermon delivered on that or any other day, and that no meeting at all was held in Juab on the day named, still it was widely circulated and believed in the East, and was the immediate cause of the murder of four Latter-day Saints, including two Utah missionaries, in Tennessee. This Party has always posed as a reforming agency in Utah (God save the mark!). Here are some ways of attaining this end, suggested by the acknowledged organ of slander, in its issue of March 6th, 1881: "I believe that billiard halls, saloons and houses of ill-fame are more powerful agencies here in Utah than churches and schools," wrote a "correspondent." "I rejoice when I see the young Mormon hoodlums playing billiards, getting drunk, running with bad women—anything to break the shackles they were born in, and that every so-called religious or virtuous influence only makes the stronger." And the editorial comment on the above was: "Freedom is the first requisite of manhood, and if it can be won without excesses so much the better. If it can't, never mind the ex-

cesses, win freedom." Such were the principles and the methods of the "Liberal" Party in Utah.

And what strange anomalies it gave rise to! Here for instance were men who had no scruples about patronizing houses of ill-fame posing as reformers of "Mormon" youth; a Judge Drummond with a wife in the East and a harlot in the West, professing to be greatly shocked at plural marriage. Here we find men who use the most shameful methods to whip into line every Gentile in the Territory so as to create a solid front to the "Mormons," perfectly "horrified" at what they termed the tyranny of the presthood. Here we find pious preachers and over-righteous missionaries professing to be followers of the meek and lowly Nazarene, engaging in the most malicious misrepresentation of their neighbors in order to create a larger purse for their "sacred enterprise." Anon we shall see them holding up their hands in holy horror at what they called "meddling in politics on the part of the Mormon Church," and then turning round to unite their influence with that of their friends in the East to overawe Congress in the matter of unseating a Representative and a Senator, regularly elected and legally qualified for the positions. The fact of the matter, therefore, is, that cohabiting with more than one woman,the Church influencing the State, unity and solidarity, and other kindred things are atrocious if found among the 'Mormons," but to be condoned if found among non-"Mormons."

This language we would not apply to all those who belonged to this anti-"Mormon" party. Many of its members were honest, virtuous, and, in general, upright. But they were certainly at fault in not protesting vigorously against the base and criminal methods resorted to by their society in order to reach the end sought, instead of sanctioning by their passivity every measure, however cruel, unjust, and wicked, brought forward by those to whom slander and vituperation and immorality were meat and drink.

Statehood.

Nothing indicates more clearly the insincereity of the "Liberal" leaders in their fight against polygamy than their conduct on at least two occasions. In 1872 a convention was held at Salt Lake City for the purpose of again petitioning Congress for Statehood. Colonel Thomas Fitch, a friend to the "Mormons" but an enemy to their marriage system, earnestly urged the Saints to surrender this peculiar rite. But Judge Hayden, a "Liberal," begged the "Mormons" not to listen "with greedy ears to the sweet cadence of the pleader's voice, wooing them from Charybdis to be wrecked on the treacherous Scylla." He entertained too much respect for them, he said, and so did the Christian world, to believe that they would make so great a sacrifice unless "new lights" conscientiously guided them. "Your very steadfastness to your faith," he cried, "amid the trying difficulties which encompass you like the 'still small voice' found a lodgment in thousands of hearts all over the world. What will history write? What will the world say of a convention composed almost entirely of Latter-day Saints, among whom are six apostles and twenty bishops, ready and willing to sacrifice one of their divine ordinances for the sake of State government?" We will not undertake positively to affirm that Judge Hayden advised the Saints not to abandon plural marriage because he thought them insincere, but the whole situation, we must confess, points to the contrary opinion: he feared that they would yield this principle, thus taking away from the anti-"Mormons" every pretext for opposition.

Again, in 1887, the People's Party proposed to form a constitution by which union of Church and State should not be allowed, and polygamy and bigamy should "be forbidden and declared a misdemeanor." A Convention was held, but the "Liberal" Party would not participate. Why? Judge Carleton said that it was because "they feared the Mormons

were sincere, and might succeed in warding off further anti-mormon legislation by abandoning polygamy."

Finally, however, after President Woodruff's Declaration and its general adoption by the whole body of the Church, the boon of Statehood was granted to the long-suffering "Mormons." In March, 1895, a convention was held at Salt Lake City at which a constitution was framed in accordance with the Enabling Act. By this time there had come comparative peace, and the People's Party and the "Liberal" Party had dissolved, reappearing as the Democratic and the Republican party, though, of course, not on the old lines, for those who had belonged to the People's Party were found in both the new parties, and so with the "Liberals." A clause in the Enabling Act providing "that polygamous or plural marriages are forever prohibited," was incorporated in the Constitution. Heber M. Wells, a Utah boy, was the first Governor.

But "Mormon" tribulations were not yet at an end. The cry of "insincerity" went up from a thousand anti-"Mormon" throats, and charges, absolutely unfounded but nevertheless equally useful, were freely reiterated here and in the East. In 1898, B. H. Roberts, a polygamist, was elected to Congress by several thousand majority, but the national House refused him admission. Subsequently—in 1904—Reed Smoot, one of the Twelve Apostles, was elected Senator by the State Legislature, and though he was admitted, petition after petition, from all parts of the country went up against him to the nation's capital, principally from the women and the preachers. The case against Roberts was clear; that is, he had more than one wife. But the "Mormons" believe that the Constitution of the United States, both in letter and spirit, was grossly violated in this instance. It was different, however, in the Smoot affair. The Senator is admitted even by his opponents to be married to only one wife,

to have a model family, and to possess the rare jewel, a spotless character. Still the women and the clergy profess to believe that his influence on the other Senators will be contaminating. The "argument" made against him, strangely enough, was that he belonged to an organization which holds that God may reveal his will to the Church, and that as a legislator he might be influenced by this belief. His recent testimony to the effect that his actions are perfectly free from outside control and that he has taken no oath inimical to the government and laws of the United States, is regarded by anti-"Mormons" as of slight value, since it is inconsistent with what they have always conceived "Mormonism" to be. But the most anomalous condition connected with this Smoot case is, that sectarian ministers, who are so irrecoverably "shocked" at the "influence" of the "Mormon" Church over some of its members who happen to hold civil offices, have no scruples at all in holding over the national Legislature their sledge-hammer of proscription. Such, however, have always been the inconsistencies, and subterfuges of anti-"Mormons."

Ever since the election of Senator Smoot, religious partisans, disappointed politicians, and self-righteous apostates have continued the fight against the Church, through their unscrupulous organ of vilification, the *Salt Lake Tribune*. It is doubtful, however, whether the fight will cease when the present "Mormon" Senator retires to private life, for "the opposition of these men is inspired by the spirit of the adversary of all righteousness."

CHAPTER V

THE DAYS OF THE UNDERGROUND

Having learned something of the sentiments entertained by the "Mormon" people respecting the subject of plural marriage, and having obtained an incite into the very "Liberal" methods of warfare against this principle, we are prepared now to enter into some of the details of this conflict while it was at its highest point.

Roots and Rootlets.

In November, 1880, George Q. Cannon, was elected Delegate to Congress over Allen G. Campbell by a majorty of more than seventeen thousand votes. But Governor Murrey, the working-tool of the Utah conspirators, refused to give him the certificate of election, on the grounds that Mr. Cannon was not a citizen and that the votes cast for him were illegal. The first reason was "a lie out of whole cloth," the second, a pure and impudent assumption by the Governor of powers which did not belong to him—of "going behind the returns." The certificate was accordingly given to Mr. Campbell. After a prolonged fight at Washington the Delegateship from Utah was declared vacant, and Mr. Cannon, who had previously won out in similar contests, was refused a seat for being a polygamist.

The ostensible aim of all this was to obtain the seat for Mr. Campbell. But the primary, though "hidden," purpose was to arouse through this means such a popular feeling in the East as would result in legislation against polygamy. Accordingly, the Anti-polygamy Society in Utah sent a public letter to Mrs. Hayes at the White House in which this prac-

tice was stigmatized as "a great crime," and "the lowest form of indecency." And they called upon "the Christian women of the United States" to join them in their efforts to urge Congress to "arrest the further progress of this evil." It was hoped that "every Christian minister of the gospel would commend" this document "to the women of his congregation."

Among the probable results of this instrument may be named a recommendation of President Hayes in his message to Congress for "more comprehensive and searching methods for preventing as well as punishing the crime;" the issuance of the ridiculous Evarts pamphlet to the representatives of the United States in European countries to induce the various governments there to suppress "Mormon" emigration to America, a thing which made the Secretary "the laughing stock of statesmen and diplomats the world over;" and the murder, by an armed mob, in Georgia, of a young Utah missionary—Joseph Standing. Meanwhile, the American press teemed with customary falsehoods about all phases of "Mormon" character and life. A young reverend school-teacher in the Sanpete Valley, yearning for celebrity, published detailed accounts of how he used to occupy his pulpit with the Word of God in one hand and a deadly weapon in the other, ready to deal salvation or death to his audience according to their demeanor. He had the "honesty," however, to deny the story when he returned to Utah, though he afterwards reaffirmed it in an "apology" which he wrote to an Eastern journal, making considerable additions thereto along the old lines. The *Boston Watchman* cunningly wrested the tabernacle memorial exercises over the martyred President—Garfield—into a "praying circle" for his death. Every device was resorted to in order that "Mormonism" might be placed before the public in the wrong light.

"In the Marriage Relation."

As a result of this anti-"Mormon" agitation, continued through many years, Congress was induced to pass two stringent measures against polygamy. The first of these was known as the Edmonds Law, passed in March, 1882. It provided for the punishment of polygamy and unlawful cohabitation, the former by imprisonment for not more than five years and a fine of not to exceed five hundred dollars, the latter by a maximum penalty of six months' imprisonment and three hundred dollars. To insure conviction, it was provided that any person who either practiced polygamy or unlawful cohabitation or believed it "right for a man to have more than one living and undivorced wife at the same time," might not serve on the jury to try such a case. Another section declared that all polygamists were disqualified as voters and ineligible to appointments. But even this act was not rigorous enough to suit the anti-"Mormon" ring-leaders. So, in March, 1887, the Edmonds-Tucker Bill was passed. This law provided that the husband or wife might be compelled to testify; that attachments might be issued when it was believed that a witness would fail to appear; that the Territorial law incorporating the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints be abolished; and that a test oath be submitted to each voter.

The outrageous character of these laws was patent to at least some of the national lawmakers, as is evident from their denunciations of them on the floor of the Senate and the House. Representative Bennett of North Carolina characterized that part of the bill which "put the Mormon Church in liquidation" as not only superfluous, but atrocious, and unconstitutional. Senator Vest declared his determination to stand out against the public sentiment which required the passage of this Edmonds-Tucker bill, whatever the consequences might be to himself. "It is naked, simple, bold con-

fiscation and nothing else," he said, referring to the clause disincorporating the Church and providing means to wind up its affairs. "The whole spirit of this test-oath legislation," he added,"is wrong; it is contrary to the principles and spirit of our republican institutions." Nevertheless both measures became law, much to the distress of the Saints.

But these Acts were mildness itself compared with the manner and spirit in which they were interpreted and carried out in Utah. The Edmonds Law provided for a Board of Commissioners appointed by the President, to regulate matters pertaining to "the registration of voters, the conduct of elections, the receiving or rejection of votes, and the canvassing and returning of the same, and the issuing of certificates or other evidence of election." The board was composed of Alexander Ramsey, of Minnesota; Algernon S. Paddock, of Nebraska; George L. Godfrey, of Iowa; Ambrose B. Carlton, of Indiana; and James R. Pettigrew, of Arkansas, who received their appointment in June and arrived at Salt Lake City in August, 1882. One of their first duties was to formulate a test-oath, which they did in a manner satisfactory, no doubt, to the radical anti-"Mormons," but in a way that gave the keynote to the whole business of interpreting these Congressional provisions; for one clause read,"And I do further solemnly swear (or affirm) that I am not a bigamist nor a polygamist; that I am not a violator of the laws of the United States prohibing bigamy or polygamy; that I do not live or cohabit with more than one woman *in the marriage relation*." It was this clause I have put in italics, which was not, however, in the Edmonds Law, together with a subsequent unsuccessful attempt to punish certain prominent non-"Mormons" for cohabiting with more than one woman *not* in the marriage relation, that lead Senator Brown, while the Edmonds-Tucker Act was under consideration in the Senate, to propose an amendment making

"this and the preceding section apply as well to so-called Gentiles as to "Mormons"—a suggestion that shocked Senator Edmonds very much.

As an example of the unjust workings of this infamous test-oath, President John Taylor, in an article written at the time to the *North American Review,* cited two cases. One was of a former mayor of Salt Lake City—Feramorz Little—an honorable and highly respected gentleman, who was refused registration, though both his wives were then dead, and he himself was without a wife, his own son having the mortification of denying him one of the most sacred rights of an American citizen. The other was of a man—a non-"Mormon"—who, though confessedly immoral, had sufficient honor left to refuse taking what appeared on casual observation to be an oath that would make him liable for perjury, but who, when his attention was called to the last clause, was nevertheless sworn. "Oh, I see, I see!" he exclaimed; "I can go that!" And so this man cast his ballot freely as did hundreds of others like him, while those whom Governor Murry himself designated as "the brainiest men in the Territory" were compelled to submit to the dictates of men whose names were unworthly of mention on the same day with their own. Such, however, was the only justice which Congress and the Commissioners had for the "Mormons."

To give even typical cases of arrest and trial under this Edmonds and Edmonds-Tucker Law would acquire more space than we have at our disposal, though it would be exceedingly interesting and would show the progressively harsh enforcement of a harsh measure. We shall therefore content ourselves with giving some characteristics of the methods pursued to capture and convict men who were supposed to be living in plural marriage.

Several hundred cases of conviction occurred under these Acts, mostly for unlawful cohabitation; and in nearly every

instance the full penalty of the law was inflicted. The first case was that of Rudger Clawson, then a young man of not much prominence in the Church, but now one of the Twelve Apostles. Among the authorities of the Church sent to prison were Apostles Snow and Lyman, President George Q. Cannon, Elder B. H. Roberts, and President Angus M. Cannon. And so it went on till the penitentiary was crowded with "the brainiest men in Utah."

Of course those who were liable to arrest under these laws went into hiding, or "under ground," as the phrase went in those days. All the prominent men of the Church, except a very few, either went about in such disguise as hid their identity even from members of their own families, or went to Canada, Mexico, or some part of Europe, or remained in secret rooms at their own homes. Plural wives, also, were compelled to go under ground to avoid arrest, most of them taking some other name than their own. The danger of the situation was aggravated by the connivance with the officers or the simple-mindedness of some of the Saints themselves, which made it hard sometimes to tell who was a friend or who a foe. The approach of "the deputies" was always a source of great consternation. Sometimes it occurred in the day, but oftener at dead of night; but whenever it happened, those whose peace and security were threatened had to be disposed of somehow. The hardships entailed by such a strenuous life, a life of almost perpetual terror, it is impossible for any one to imagine, who did not actually pass through the experience. This constant alertness of mind was a great strain on those who were in the least inclined to be nervous, and was the direct means of permanently breaking down the health of men and women, sometimes resulting in death. There is no doubt that President Taylor's useful career was thus cut short.

Finding difficulty in making the required arrests, the officers resorted to a most detestable system of espionage. "Paid informers, both men and women," says Whitney in his *History of Utah,* "were put to work to ferret out cases of polygamy. Some of these assumed roles of peddlers, some of tourists, others of tramps, and insinuated themselves into private dwellings, relying upon their impertinent inquiries and the gossiping propensities of the inmates of the homes desecrated by their presence, to elicit desired information. In some places they were eminently successful; in others they were promptly detected and expelled. Little children, going to or returning from school, would be stopped upon the streets by strange men and women and interrogated respecting the marital relations of their parents. At night dark forms could be seen prowling about the premises of peaceable citizens, peering into windows or watching for the opening of doors through which to obtain glimpses of persons supposed to be inside. Some of the hirelings were bold enough, or indecent enough, to thrust themselves into sick-rooms and women's bed-chambers, rousing the occupants from slumber by pulling the bed-clothes off them. Houses were broken into by deputy marshals armed with axes. Delicate women, about to become mothers, or having infants in arms, would be roused from rest at the most unseemly hours, driven long distances through the night, in vehicles filled with profane and half-drunken men, and arraigned before U. S. Commissioners. More than one poor woman, fleeing from arrest, or succumbing from fright and exhaustion, perished in giving premature birth to a child destined to bear through life the effects of the brutal treatment meted out to its unfortunate mother. Male fugitives were shot at if they did not immediately surrender to the officers, and in one instance a reputable citizen was slain without provocation by an over-

zealous deputy marshal, bent on vindicating the majesty of the law."

"'Hunting cohabs'—to use the vulgar parlance of the times—was the most lucrative employment of the hour; and one in which some of the most disreputable persons in the community zealously engaged. Twenty dollars per capita, for each polygamist arrested, was the ordinary price paid to these mercenaries for betraying them. It was profit, not patriotism, that inspired such labors. Hence the odium attaching to such characters and the detestation in which they were generally regarded.

"So bold and insulting became the night prowlers, encouraged by immunity from punishment to proceed to the most exasperating lengths—that the persecuted people in places—notably Salt Lake City—were compelled to organize special police forces to guard their homes and families against such aggressions. But there was still another object in the organization of these police. Paradoxical as it may seem, it was the protection of the spies themselves, some of whom were United States officers; and to kill or maim one—whatever the provocation—would have been heralded abroad as a "Mormon" atrocity, to justify all that had been done, and twice as much to follow. That so few collisions occurred, and that absolutely no blood was shed by "Mormon" hands during that troublous period, is an historical anomaly, a psychological marvel; one that speaks trumpet-tongued in praise of the patience and self-control of the tantalized and trampled community."

Some amusing stories went the rounds of how the dogging officials were either put on the wrong scent or altogether evaded. One good brother, caught unawares by the deputies, obtained permission to go up stairs, and when he had done so, he descended on the outside from an upper window

by means of a rope tied to the bedstead, and thus made his way safely to "fresh fields and pastures new." Another prominent Elder, dressed as an old lady, boarded a train for New York, with the intention of sailing to England. An officer, getting wind of his intentions, but not of his disguise, went also to the metropolis. He watched very carefully the entrance to the ship bound for Britain; but no elder from Utah made his appearance. Instead of arresting "his man," the officer had the "pleasure" of courteously extending a helping hand to a particularly feeble old lady—the very elder in disguise—struggling to ascend the plank leading to the ship. A courageous and determined woman in southern Utah, when an officer tried to search her house without a warrant, whether she would or no, grabbed a picket from the fence and pommeled the retreating figure of the detective in a truly masculine fashion. And a percocious youngster in Salt Lake, asked on the street if he could not point out a polygamist in the neighborhood, led the gracious and inquiring marshal into a hen coop in the backyard and bade him arrest the feathered "cohab."

Inevitable conviction followed arrest. No "Mormon" could sit on the jury. "Do you believe the doctrines and tenets of the Mormon Church?" is a sample of the questions asked the jurors at the trial. And further, "Do you believe in the doctrine of plural marriage, as taught by the Mormon Church?" "Do you believe it right for a man to have more than one undivorced wife living at the same time?" In this way every Latter-day Saint was excluded from the jury—every person who would be likely to sympathize with the accused. These questions were asked only of those who were known to be members of the Church. The juries kept getting more and more pliable in anti-"Mormon" hands. One jury, for instance, disagreed in the first trial of Rudger Clawson;

but care was taken, after that, that no other jury should ever do so. In Idaho, United States Marshal Fred T. Dubois openly boasted of having obtained a jury that would have no scruples in convicting Jesus Christ. And it was much the same in Utah, only no one here happened to think of this blasphemous way of putting it.

To secure conviction women were compelled, in accordance with the Edmonds-Tucker Act, to testify in cases where their husbands were on trial. The most indecent questions were put to them, for refusing to answer which several were imprisoned. Thus women as well as men suffered incarceration for their convictions.

Nor was the construction of the law one whit behind the spirit which characterized the arrest and trial of alleged offenders; and this, like the other,was progressive in its harshness. In the case of Angus M. Cannon, Judge Zane decided that it was sufficient if the evidence showed "that a man lives with more than one woman, cohabits with them and holds them out to the world as his wives." In addressing the jury in this Cannon case the Judge said: "It is not necessary that the evidence should show that the defendant and these women, or either of them, occupied the same bed or slept in the same room." It was sufficient, he said, that, in the opinion of the jurors, "the defendant lived in the same house with Amanda Cannon and Clara C. Cannon, the women named in the indictment, and ate at their respective tables one-third of his time or thereabouts, and that he held them out to the world by his language or his conduct, or by both, as his wives." This judgment, which was sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States, was a distinctive crisis in the Crusade. But a worse stage was to come.

Thinking, at first, perhaps, that the "Mromons" were invoking the sacredness of plural marriage (on the grounds of

its having been commanded by special revelation to the Church), as a shield for licentiousness, those who administered the law had not hitherto scrutinized that law so closely as to see its greatest possibilities. But no sooner did they perceive that the "Mormons" acted from a high sense of religious duty than these minions of the Edmonds Acts tormented their ingenuity to get interpretations till they found scarcely no limits for which they could not discover a warrant in the Congressional rulings. The one which showed the greatest possibilities was what became known as "Segregation." Briefly explained, it was this: U. S. Attorney Dickson maintained that, "while the maximum legal penalty for unlawful cohabitation—the holding out of two or more women as wives—was a fine of three hundred dollars and imprisonment for six months, there was nothing to prevent dividing the period of the offense into 'times and times and half-times;' each fragment being broken off or segregated to be covered by a separate indictment." And this extraordinary construction Judge Zane decided to be perfectly within the law.

Shortly after this Judge Powers said: "An indictment may be found against a man guilty of cohabitation, for every day, or other distinct interval of time, during which he offends. Each day that a man cohabits with more than one woman, as I have defined the word 'cohabit' [the "holding out" practice] is a distinct and separate violation of the law, and he is liable for punishment for each separate offense." The *Deseret News,* in commenting upon this astounding decision, said: "This was a master-stroke, because the maximum aggregate penalty under Judge Zane's divisional process . . . would amount to imprisonment for only seventy-eight years, and a fine of forty-six thousand eight hundred dollars. According to Powers the obnoxious

Mormon could be sentenced to an aggregated term of five hundred and forty-seven years and six months, and compelled to pay a fine of three hundred and twenty-eight thousand four hundred dollars. If he happened to be impecunious he could be made to remain in prison for ninety-one years and three months longer, in order to satisfy the 'poor convict act.' Such lengthy periods in prison would certainly be conducive to fatigue, and be a powerful test of endurance." This satirical writer recommended that the penalties be extended to the other life. But fortunately this "segregation" idea was ruled out by the court of last resort.

Nothing reveals better the fact that these "Mormon" polygamists were actuated by a high sense of honor than the words which some of them uttered in the court-room when asked if they had anything to say why sentence should not be pronounced upon them. A few, including one bishop, pledged themselves to obey the law, and thus escape with either a mild punishment or none at all. But they were universally considered traitors among their co-religionists, and their example was disregarded by the great majority of the brethren. Elder Rudger Clawson, at his trial, said: "I very much regret that the laws of my country should come in conflict with the laws of God; but whenever they do, I shall invariably choose to obey the latter. Abram H. Cannon declared that he acknowledged "a higher law than that of man." And he went on to say: "When I embraced this religion, I promised to place all that I had, even life itself,upon the altar, and I expect to abide by that covenant. And, sir, I hope the day will never come when I must sacrifice principle, even to procure life or liberty. Honor, sir, to me is higher than anything else upon the earth; and my religion is dearer to me than anything that I have yet seen." Apostle Lorenzo Snow said: "I married my wives because God

commanded it. The ceremony, which united us for time and eternity, was performed by a servant of God having authority. God being my helper, I would prefer to die a thousand deaths than renounce my wives and violate these sacred obligations."

The latter part of the Crusade was marked by the confiscation by the Federal government of the property of the Church. The United States marshal was appointed receiver. The tithing house and grounds, the Historian's Office, the Gardo House, and even the Temple block, including the Tabernacle and the Assembly Hall—buildings used exclusively for purposes of worship—were taken, and the "Mormons" made to pay rent for their own buildings. A long course of intricate and complicated litigation followed, which it would be of little interest to relate in this place, at the end of which what was left of about a million and a half dollars was restored to the Church.

But the time came when the better class of non-"Mormons" sickened of this disreputable work of hounding polygamists and persecuting an innocent people for their religious convictions; and they as well as the Saints longed eagerly for a change. That change finally came. A division occurred among the Gentiles here, some still clamoring for a continuation of "heroic measures," others crying for more humane treatment. The better sentiment prevailed, and there took place a freer intercourse between "Mormons" and non-"Mormons." Of such a relaxation, the Chamber of Commerce, which prohibited any discussion of politics and religion, was part of the good fruit borne. Finally, in 1890, President Woodruff issued his Declaration, which those Gentiles that had been honest in their opposition to polygamy at once accepted as a sincere expression of the "Mormon" will. And at last the Crusade was at an end.

CHAPTER VI

SOME SCATTERED FRAGMENTS

There still remain a number of important events in the progress of "Mormonism" during this last period, which it is proper that we should speak of before bringing our narrative to a close.

Changes in Leadership.

When the First Presidency of the Church was reorganized in December, 1847, it consisted, as we have seen, of Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Willard Richards. In March, 1854, President Richards died, and was succeeded by Jedediah M. Grant. President Grant, however, occupied this position less than three years, for he passed away in December, 1856. His place was taken by Daniel H. Wells. President Kimball died in June, 1868, and the vacancy was filled by the appointment of Apostle George A. Smith. President Smith, however, died in September, 1875, whereupon John W. Young was chosen to succeed him. Thus the First Presidency stood in 1877, when President Young passed away.

In the meantime, changes had occurred also in the Quorum of Twelve. At the opening of the year 1848 the quorum stood as follows: Orson Hyde, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith, Amasa Lyman, and Ezra T. Benson, there being four vacancies. Shortly afterwards, however, these were filled by the appointment of Charles C. Rich, Lorenzo Snow, Erastus Snow, and Franklin D. Richards. Later, but during

President Young's life, George Q. Cannon, Joseph F. Smith, Brigham Young, Jr., and Albert Carrington were chosen to fill vacancies made by the apostasy of Amasa Lyman, the deaths of Parley P. Pratt and Ezra T. Benson, and the appointment of George A. Smith to the First Presidency. Orson Hyde had acted as President of the Twelve from 1847 till 1875, when his place was taken by John Taylor. At the death of President Young, therefore, this quorum stood: John Taylor, Orson Hyde, Orson Pratt, Wilford Woodruff, Charles C. Rich, Lorenzo Snow, Erastus Snow, Franklin D. Richards, George Q. Cannon, Joseph F. Smith, Brigham Young, Jr., and Albert Carrington.

In 1849, John Smith, uncle of the Prophet Joseph, was made Presiding Patriarch, which office he held till his death in 1854, when John Smith, eldest son of Hyrum the Martyr, took his place. He is the present incumbent of this office.

When the Saints left Illinois, the First council of Seventy was as follows: Joseph Young, Levi W. Hancock, Henry Harriman, Zera Pulsipher, Albert P. Rockwood, Jedediah M. Grant, and Benjamin L. Clapp. When President Grant was taken from the quorum, his place was filled by Horace S. Eldredge. Elder Clapp was excommunicated from the Church in 1859, and his position given to Jacob Gates. In 1862, Elder Pulsipher was ordained a patriarch, and his place was filled by John Van Cott. So the quorum stood in 1877, when President Young died.

On the 29th of August, 1877, President Brigham Young passed away at his home in Salt Lake City. Like the martyrdom of the Prophet Joseph, it was a shock to the Latter-day Saints throughout the world, though it was not so unexpected as that tragedy, for the President had been ailing for some time: During the varying scenes of thirty years he had been at the head of the Church, and had directed affairs

with great wisdom. So potent had been his influence in shaping the destinies of "Mormonism" that many thought the Church would fall to pieces when he died. But those who entertained such an opinion showed thereby their total ignorance of this religion. It has many times demonstrated that no man, however great, is indispensible to the progress of the work of God.

The Twelve, as was the case at the death of Joseph, were the presiding quorum of the Church, and they remained so till the October conference of 1880, when John Taylor was elected President and George Q. Cannon and Joseph F. Smith his counselors. This created three vacancies in the quorum of apostles. During the presidency of President Taylor the deaths of Orson Hyde, Orson Pratt, and Charles C. Rich, in 1878, 1881, and 1883, respectively, created three more vacancies. These six places were filled by the selection of Moses Thatcher, Francis M. Lyman, John Henry Smith, George Teasdale, Heber J. Grant and John W. Taylor. The deaths, meanwhile, of Albert P. Rockwood, Joseph Young, Levi W. Hancock, and John Van Cott, caused four vacancies in the First Council of Seventy, which were filled by the appointment of William W. Taylor, Abraham H. Cannon, Seymour B. Young, and Christian D. Fjeldsted. But, in 1884, Elder Taylor died, and his place was taken by John Morgan. Elder Eldredge passed away in 1888, and B. H. Roberts took his place in the quorum.

It was during the administration of President Taylor, as we have already learned, that the Crusade occurred. He was one of the Lions of the Lord, bold and courageous, sincere and earnest, cultured, scholarly; a man of fervid eloquence, with the pen as with the tongue; a perfect gentleman. Under the guidance of the divine Spirit, he preserved intact the wonderful Society that

had grown up under the leadership of the Prophet and his remarkable successor. President Taylor died, in exile for the Truth, July, 1887, at Kaysville, Davis county, Utah

For the next two years, lacking three months, the Twelve were again left as the presiding quorum of the Church. In April, 1889, Wilford Woodruff was chosen President with George Q. Cannon and Joseph F. Smith as his counselors. The incumbency of President Woodruff continued till 1898. Meanwhile, Albert Carrington was excommunicated from the Church and Erastus Snow passed away. Their positions and that left vacant by the elevation of Elder Woodruff to the Presidency were filled by Marriner W. Merril, Anthon H. Lund, and Abraham H. Cannon. The last named died in 1896, and in the same year Moses Thatcher was dropped from the quorum: Matthias F. Cowley and Abraham O. Woodruff were thereupon ordained apostles and admitted into the quorum. Some changes occurred also in the First Seven Presidents of Seventy. Abraham H. Cannon was advanced to the quorum of Twelve, Henry Herriman, Jacob Gates, and John Morgan passed away. Their places were taken by George Reynolds, Jonathan G. Kimball, Rulon S. Wells, and Edward Stevenson. Elder Stevenson, however, died in 1898, and his place was filled by Joseph W. McMurrin.

During the nine years that President Woodruff occupied this position, occurred that modification of the feeling of bitterness between Gentiles and "Mormons" in Utah, to which we have already referred. And he was a man well fitted by nature to attain pacific ends, if such ends could be attained at all between two such naturally inharmonious elements. He was a man of uniform simplicity, kindliness, and uprightness, without a personal enemy in the world. He died, in September, 1898, at San Francisco, while on a visit to California for his health.

Once more, therefore, the Presidency of the Church rested upon the Twelve, Lorenzo Snow being President; but not for long, however, for, only eleven days after the demise of President Woodruff, Lorenzo Snow was chosen President of the Church, with the same counselors as the two preceding presidents had selected. His administration continued till October, 1901—almost exactly three years. During this time President George Q. Cannon passed away, and Rudger Clawson was chosen second counselor, President Smith being made first counselor. Elder Clawson had previously been made a member of the quorum of Twelve. Franklin D. Richards also died while President Snow was in office, Reed Smoot being chosen to fill the vacancy thus occurring.

President Snow's incumbency was characterized by a financial betterment of the Church. During the troublous years that preceded, the Church had become heavily endebted. President Snow exerted himself to his utmost to redeem its money pledges. He visited personally some of the stakes of Zion advocating a stricter payment of tithes by the people. And he lived long enough to see a marked improvement in this respect. He was a refined and polished man, of scholarly habits of thought, and strong personality. He died rather suddenly at the Bee Hive House in Salt Lake City, October 10, 1901.

The interval between the death of President Snow and the appointment of Joseph F. Smith to the vacant office was even briefer than that between the death of President Woodruff and the election of his successor, only seven days. The reason for this apparent haste was explained by President Smith at a special conference, as being partly because there was no need for delay, but mainly because the financial interests of the Church were so great as to require immediate action in the matter of appointing and sustaining a trustee-in-trust. President Smith's counselors were John R. Win-

der and Anthon H. Lund. This change and the deaths of Apostles Young and Woodruff created three vacancies in the quorum, which were filled by the ordination of Hyrum M. Smith, George Albert Smith, and Charles W. Penrose.

Subsequently the resignations of Apostles John W. Taylor and Matthias F. Cowley, and the deaths of M. W. Merrill and George Teasdale created four vacancies which were filled by Elders George F. Richards, Orson F. Whitney, David O. McKay, and Antony W. Ivins. In the quorum of First presidents of Seventies a change occurred: C. D. Fjeldsted passed away, his place filled by Charles H. Hart.

President Joseph F. Smith is a son of Hyrum Smith, the Patriarch, and has been actively engaged in the ministry ever since he was fifteen years of age. He is a man of the most positive and earnest character, two qualities which he is stamping indelibly upon the Church.

An important movement has recently been set going in the Church, under the administration of President Smith; namely, the betterment of the quorums of the priesthood. In all the quorums weekly meetings are held, those of the Seventy being held Sunday mornings, at which prescribed courses of study are followed. The significance of this movement cannot be over-estimated. It means an incomparably more efficient ministry both at home and abroad, and justly places the priesthood as the most important organization in the Church. Most probably in time the Improvement Association, at least the Young Men's, will be made a place where historical, literary, and scientific subjects will be taught, instead of theology as in the past.

Auxiliary Societies.

It was in this period of Church history that what is known among us as the auxiliary organizations had a beginning—the Sunday Schools, the Young Men's and Young Ladies'

Mutual Improvement Associations, and the Primary. The Relief Society, which had its beginnings at Nauvoo, was re-established in Utah during the days of President Young. We shall speak of these separately.

First in order of time is the Sunday school. It began in December,1849,at a private dwelling in the Fourteenth ward, with Elder Richard Ballantyne as superintendent, who afterwards became superintendent of the Sunday schools of Weber Stake. Afterwards, though slowly, schools were organized in other wards. When it was deemed advisable to have a general head in order that a reasonable degree of uniformity might be established, President George Q. Cannon was made general Superintendent. From this necessity for uniformity grew the Deseret Sunday School Union. At present this is one of the most thoroughly organized, the largest, and the most useful of the auxiliary associations of the Church. Every ward has a superintendent with assistants, other officers, and a corps of teachers, who generally meet once a week for consultation upon the needs of the school. There is, besides, a Stake Superintendent with other officers and a board of aids, who meet at stated times, often once a week, and who conduct union meetings every month. Then there is the general Superintendent and the General Board. During the past seven years (1902-9) definite plans have been printed and used in all the classes of the schools. The *Juvenile Instructor* is the official organ of this association, founded, and edited till his death by President George Q. Cannon, and edited now by President Joseph F. Smith. The general officers of the Sundays schools are: General Superintendency, Joseph F. Smith, George Reynolds, and David O. McKay; Secretary, George D. Pyper; treasurer, George Reynolds. According to the statistical report of 1904, the

total enrollment in all the Sunday schools of the Church, stakes and missions, was more than one hundred and thirty-six thousand.

Of the organization of the Women's Relief Society at Nauvoo we have already spoken. For some time after the removal of the Church to the West, it seems, nothing much was done with it. But in 1851 we find some organizations in Salt Lake City wards. In the year 1855, President Young urged the bishops generally to have a society formed in their ecclesiastical districts. A sort of general supervision over the work was entrusted to Sisters Eliza R. Snow and Zina D. Huntington Young. This women's society did a valuable service to Utah at the time the Cullom Bill was discussed. It was largely through its influence as an organization that the women's suffrage law was brought into existence in Utah in 1870. In later years a president and two counselors were chosen, with a secretary, a treasurer, and a board of aids. The *Woman's Exponent* is the organ of the society, Lulu Greene Richards being the first editor and Emmeline B. Wells its second; the latter is still editor. The Relief Society continues along the lines of duty assigned it by its organizer, Joseph the Prophet—namely, to administer to the needy and suffering among the Saints. In this labor of love thousands of dollars, contributed by the members, are spent annually in this noble direction. The officers are: President, Bathsheba W. Smith; counselors, Anne Taylor Hyde and Ida Smoot Dusenberry; secretary, Emmeline B. Wells; treasurer, Clarissa S. Williams.

The Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association began its useful career in President Young's days. The Twentieth Ward Institute was really the first of these institutions, and existed before there was any regular organization of Improvement Associations. It had among its officers such well known brethren as John Nicholson (its first pres-

Education.

Closely associated with these early efforts to train the young people of the Church is to be considered the general system of denominational schools among the Latter-day Saints.

On several occasions, during the progress of our narrative, we have called attention to some of the basic principles of education held by the Church. It is commonly thought by non-"Mormons" that the "Mormons" not only do not value education very highly, but that "Mormonism" rests upon ignorance. This, however, is an agregious error. No people can put a higher estimate upon education than the Latter-day Saints. According to them, "the glory of God is intelligence." and "a man is saved no faster than he gains knowledge." And their practice has always been in harmony with this theory, though the constant persecution to which they have been subject has prevented the latter from keeping pace with the former. At the schools of the prophets, which have been held in Ohio, Missouri, Illinois, and Utah, a number of branches of learning were taught by the best teachers that could be employed. There was a high school established at Kirtland, and all arrangements were made for founding a university at Nauvoo. Even the awkward circumstances in which the Saints found themselves at their temporary settlements in the wilderness, were not permitted to interfere with the establishment of schools for their children. Doubtless, these were crude; but they were the best to be had. Indeed, it is extremely doubtful whether any other people—the detractors of the Saints, for instance—so situated would have turned their thoughts toward education, unless it were to bemoan the absence of schools. Three months had not elapsed since the arrival of the pioneers in Salt Lake valley; before a school was opened at the "Old Fort." The teacher was Miss Mary Jane Dilworth, a young girl of seventeen, who afterwards became

Next came the Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Association. In the winter of 1869, President Young called together his wives and daughters at his home in the Lion House and gave them instructions in "economy and healthful living, deprecating the extravagance and vanity that were becoming prevalent in the community." He gave them this salutary advice: "Your time is all the capital that God has given you, and if you waste that, you are bankrupt indeed." Thence sprang what was known as the Retrenchment Society, the duty to supervise which was imposed upon Mrs. M. Isabella Horne. And out of this society grew the present Young Ladies' Association. It is fashioned after its complement organization, considered in the preceding paragraph. Its organ is the *Young Woman's Journal,* a monthly periodical begun in 1889, and edited by the General Board. The present general officers are as follows: President, Martha Horne Tingey; counselors, Ruth May Fox, and Mae Taylor Nystrom; secretary, Ann M. Cannon; assistant secretary, Agnes Campbell; treasurer, Alice K. Smith.

The Primary Association came into existence in 1878. The first idea of such an organization seems to have occurred to Sister Aurelia S. Rogers, a daughter of Orson Spencer; and the first association was organized at Farmington in August of that year. It was not till two years later that stake organizations began to be effected. But since then the work has extended into every part of the Church, and is now one of the substantial aids in educating the children. For the past few years a paper—*The Children's Friend*—has been published as a means of unifying the work of the Association, since its columns are devoted mainly to the lessons to be presented. The general officers, as at present constituted, are: President, Louie B. Felt; counselors, May Anderson and Clara W. Beebe.

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the wife of President F. A. Hammond of the San Juan stake. "Pieces of logs were used for seats, and a small camp-table for a desk." In February, 1850, the University of Deseret, now the University of Utah, was chartered.

But it is the Church school system of education that we wish to call attention to here. The State schools, it is well known, do not permit religious instruction. Hence it was thought desirable to have schools established in which the principles of the gospel might be taught in connection with other branches of learning. Accordingly, the Brigham Young Academy at Provo, now the Brigham Young University, the Brigham Young College at Logan, and the Latter-day Saints' College at Salt Lake City, which has also changed its name to the Latter-day Saints' University, were established, the first in 1876, the second in 1877,and the third in 1886. In addition to these three main Church schools, many other schools are now in operation. Most of these, however, are still doing grade work, some high school work, two college work, but none university work in the sense in which this term is understood in educational circles, the two "universities" being simply promises of what the future may bring. By means of these institutions a vast army of young people are turned out each year excellently equipped as missionaries for the foreign ministry and workers in the ward and stake organizations, by reason of the training, theological and secular, which they receive here.

Akin to this educational system, indeed, part of it, is what is known as the Religion Class. This is a peculiar organization, brought into existence in 1892 for the purpose of supplementing the work of the district schools by furnishing a class in religion. The recitation consists of six steps as follows: first, singing; second, prayer; third, a memory gem, usually from the Scriptures; fourth, a lesson on re-

ligion, morals, manners, or general conduct; fifth, testimony-bearing; sixth, singing and prayer. The key note of the work is, "Learn to do by doing." It furnishes distinctively religious rather than theological training. Like most other new organizations, this movement has met with no little opposition from those who were ignorant regarding its purposes and character, but it is now established in most of the stakes of Zion and in some of the missions, where it is doing a worthy work. There are ward, stake, and general superintendents with other officers and aids. The General Superintendency consists of Anthon H. Lund, Rudger Clawson, and Hyrum M. Smith.

Utah Temples.

The same interest has been manifested in the Church during the last sixty years in the salvation of the dead, that characterized it before the martyrdom of the Prophet Joseph. Hence temple-building has continued to be an important subject of thought by all the Presidents of the Church since the settlement of Utah.

The first temple in this western country was built at St. George. The site was dedicated November 9th, 1871, ground being broken on the same day. It measures one hundred and forty-one feet in length by ninety-three feet in width. The height to the top of the parapet is eighty-four feet. The east tower is surmounted with an octagonal dome rising from a square base. The cost is estimated to have been eight hundred thousand dollars. It was dedicated April 5th, 1877, the year of President Young's death. This noble structure stands a solemn monument of industry and faith, overlooking a dreary stretch of country.

In May, 1877, had been dedicated another temple site on the bench east of Logan City, in Cache valley. This building

is one hundred and seventy-one feet long and ninety-five feet wide, the highest tower—the eastern—standing one hundred and fifty-five feet. It is a beautiful and imposing structure, overlooking almost the whole of Cache valley. The dedicatory services took place in May, 1884.

It was in President Young's days, also, that the temple site at Manti was dedicated, the event occurring in April, 1877, though the corner stones were not laid till two years later. The size of the building is: length, one hundred and seventy-two feet, width ninety-five feet. The east tower rises from the ground one hundred and seventy-nine feet. "The site of the building is unique, being flanked on two sides with terraces. The foundation is sixty-three feet above the road running along the base of the hill." The total cost is estimated at one million dollars. It was dedicated May 21st, 1888.

The first temple contemplated in the West, however, the last one finished, and the grandest of the six structures erected by the Saints in this dispensation is the Salt Lake Temple. A few days after the arrival of the pioneer company in the valley of Salt Lake, President Young and a number of the brethren went out to where the temple now stands. The President, striking his cane into the earth, said, "Here will be the temple of our God." And so it was; on that spot stands one of the noblest structures in America, and one of the most famous in the world. Its dimensions are: length, one hundred and eighty-six feet; width, ninety-nine; the central eastern tower is two hundred and twenty-two feet high. The total cost is about four million dollars. The dedication occurred in April, 1893, forty years after it was begun. It is seldom among men that such imposing ceremonies are witnessed as took place on this occasion. Eighty-five thousand people, including fifteen thousand Sunday

school children, attended the dedicatory services, which were repeated day after day till all who were eligible and who could attend had enjoyed this inestimable privilege.

At the services of dedication, many of the Saints received manifestations of the divine power and glory. Some who were sick were instantly healed, and angels were seen by others. Moreover, since these memorable ceremonies, God has showered his blessings upon the people in a very remarkable manner.

Growth of the Church.

It is impossible to ascertain definitely the whole membership of the Church at the death of Joseph Smith the Prophet, in 1844, at the end of the first fourteen years of its existence; but most probably fifty thousand would be a large enough figure. Now, however, the membership of the Church is something over three hundred thousand. So that "Mormonism" has been making rapid headway during the last sixty-five years, notwithstanding numerous adverse conditions.

Since the death of the Prophet Joseph, the work at home and abroad has been more thoroughly organized. The number of stakes has increased to fifty-five, scattered over a great territory. Most of them are in Utah, but some are in Idaho, Arizona, Colorado, Wyoming, Oregon, Mexico, and Canada. In these there are between six and seven hundred wards. Over each stake there is a president with two counselors, and over each ward a bishop with two counselors. Besides, the parts of the world not included in what is generally termed Zion, are as effectively organized. There are twenty-four "Missions," each with a president, as follows: The Eastern States, the Southern States, the Northern States, Colorado, the Central States, the Northwestern States, California, the Mexican, the British, the German and

Swiss, the Swedish, the Scandinavian, including only Norway and Denmark, the Netherlands, the Hindoostan, the Turkish, the Japanese, the Australian, the South African, the Iceland, the Society Islands, the Samoan, the Sandwich Islands. These are all subdivided into "conferences" and the conferences again into "branches." And converts are made every year in all of these missions by the hundreds of missionaries sent out annually from the various established Stakes of Zion.

"Mormonism" is, therefore, more firmly established than ever and has brighter prospects before it than at any previous time in its history, notwithstanding the opposition that is at this moment (1905) being brought to bear against it. The confidence of the Saints in their leaders, ward, stake, and general, it is safe to say, has never been stronger. Probably it would not be far from the truth to say that President Joseph F. Smith, so far as his office in the Church is concerned, wields a greater influence than any of his predecessors. But there is no "menace" in "Mormonism," nothing inimical to the constitution of our great country. The people throughout the Church repose trust in their leaders because these leaders have never required anything of them that is not consonant with reason and perfect liberty, or that is in conflict with the highest laws of virtue and truth; nor could they, and retain this trust. The United States and the world, therefore, need have no apprehensions or fear respecting "Mormonism;" for it will always be found, as it has always been found, on the side of truth, freedom, and the purest morality.

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